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VOLUME II

BY WILLIAM EDWARDS, M.A.

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NOTES
ON
EUROPEAN HISTORY

BY
WILLIAM EDWARDS, M.A.
FORMERLY HEADMASTER OF MIDDLESBROUGH HIGH SCHOOL
AUTHOR OF "NOTES ON BRITISH HISTORY," ETC.

VOLUME II
THE REFORMATION
AND THE ASCENDANCY OF FRANCE
1494-1715

FOURTH IMPRESSION
THIRD EDITION

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PREFACE

EUROPE in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was profoundly affected by the principle of nationality. But nationality at this time meant absolute monarchy and the history of the period is largely concerned with great monarchs : Charles V, Philip II, Henry VIII, Elizabeth, Henry IV and Louis XIV. Under their guidance Spain, England and France assumed at various times commanding positions, and the Holy Roman Empire no longer retained its place as the most important element of European politics.

The development of national consciousness was assisted by the struggle between the Hapsburgs and Valois, by the Reformation and the rapid growth of Sea Power. The first gave security to France and paved the way for the ascendancy of Louis XIV. The second led to the independence of Holland, the rise of England into a first-class power and the development of Sweden and Poland. The third added to the influence of the Maritime Nations. But in Germany the Reformation led to the triumph of Territorialism and thus proved a disintegrating factor, while Italy, owing to the lack of a sovereign strong enough to unite the separate states under one ruler, failed to achieve national unity.

The Turks proved a standing danger to Eastern Europe. This danger led, in 1544, to the union of the Protestants and Catholics of Germany under Charles V ; but the temporary removal of the danger was followed by further division, and the Turks, by diverting the attention of Charles V,

promoted the cause of the Reformation and thus helped to ensure the independence of the German princes.

During this period the Swiss, the Swedes and the Dutch seemed likely to win places among the powers of Europe, but they failed to maintain the position they had secured. Russia profited by the fall of Sweden, became the leading Baltic state and laid the foundation of her future greatness.

In Volume I of this series the author was unable, owing to limitation of space, to deal with the history of Spain, Poland, Scandinavia and Eastern Europe except incidentally, as it affected other countries. In Volume II he has taken advantage of a more limited period to give some account of these countries, but has treated the history of England only incidentally, as a full account of English History will be found in the companion series of *Notes on British History*.¹

Each subject is treated as fully as space permits, and this has occasionally led to the repetition of material common to two or more sections. The number of details is necessarily large, but wherever possible details have been related to the historical principles they illustrate. Full accounts have been given of the leading characters of the period, and an effort has been made to show the relations between great men and great movements.

This book is designed to help students who are preparing for the Higher Local or Higher Certificate Examinations, for scholarships in Modern History or for the history papers set in connection with the various University Examinations. But the author hopes that the book will prove helpful also to students of history who are not taking the subject in preparation for some examination. He will be very grateful to any readers who care to make suggestions for the correction and improvement of this book.

¹ See advertisement opposite Title page.

PREFACE TO SECOND EDITION

THE author is indebted to Mr. B. A. Workman, M.A. of Blackburn Grammar School, for additional References which have been given in this edition.

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SECTION I
ITALY FROM 1494 TO 1521

EUROPEAN HISTORY

THE LATER RENAISSANCE IN ITALY

I. General.

The Renaissance reached its height in the early years of the sixteenth century. Rome had now become the centre of the movement, for, while most of Italy was suffering from invasion, Rome had suffered little, and the Pope was the most powerful ruler in Italy; Rome, said Erasmus, "is a common fatherland, a foster-mother, and a comforter to all men of learning." Raphael's four wall paintings of the Stanza della Segnatura, painted 1508-1511, "mark the point at which the mediæval and modern thought touch one another; the narrow mediæval world ceases, the modern world stands before us developed in all its fullness and freedom."¹

A. Julius II (1503-1513).

The patronage of two popes supported the movement. Julius II endeavoured to reconcile the culture of the Renaissance with orthodox Christianity; he engaged Bramante to draw the plans for St. Peter's; he approved, if he did not suggest, the paintings of the Segnatura in which Raphael showed how culture, reason, ecclesiastical and political order and theology lead men to God; by his command Michelangelo showed in the paintings of the Sistine Chapel how, after the Fall, men were led to strive for reunion with God. Julius II was much more than "the fighting Pope," but his continual warfare obscured his intellectual aims and ruined his scheme of reconciling religion and culture.

¹ *Cambridge Modern History*, Vol. II, page 14.

B. Leo X (1513–1521).

Leo X (1513–1521), Giovanni de' Medici, had been carefully educated by the leading humanists of Florence by order of his father, Lorenzo the Magnificent. Scholarship now secured ecclesiastical preferment; the patronage of the Pope, who was sincerely anxious to promote the development of culture, afforded to art and letters a stimulus which was very helpful although its exact effect is difficult to estimate; his enlightened patronage of Raphael was the most important act of his pontificate. But his extravagance wasted vast sums of money—Raphael's salary as architect of St. Peter's was five years in arrears. Leo's determination to "enjoy the Papacy since God has given it us," his Epicurean philosophy and his literary dilettantism were inconsistent with the real spirit of the Renaissance. The decline of the Renaissance began under Leo X.

C. The end of the Roman Renaissance.

The Sack of Rome in 1527¹ ended the Roman Renaissance. The Counter Reformation became hostile to the Revival of Learning, which had played a great part in promoting the Reformation; under its influence Scholasticism, against which the Renaissance had been a revolt, was revived, and "the new Scholastics converted their own Church from the Catholicity which encouraged the Renaissance to the Romanism which suppressed its thought."²

D. Features of the Later Renaissance in Italy.

The Later Renaissance in Italy was marked by an attempt to extend the knowledge of the classics, the production of the masterpieces of the greatest Italian painters, the building of St. Peter's—Bramante's best work—and the composition of the histories of the Florentine historians.

¹ Page 137.

² *Cambridge Modern History*, Vol. II, page 705.

II. Classical Study.

The patronage of Cardinal Adrian de Corneto and of Leo X encouraged the further study of the classics.

A. Latin.

The aim of Latin scholarship, now directed mainly towards the attainment of accurate and elegant style, was narrower than that of earlier humanism. Special attention was paid to Cicero and Virgil as models of composition, and Cardinal Bembo, a faithful follower of Cicero, was the greatest Latinist of the day.

B. Greek.

Between 1500 and 1515 Aldo Manuzio¹ published editions of Thucydides, Sophocles, Herodotus, Xenophon, Euripides, Demosthenes, Plato and Pindar. By 1518, when Æschylus was published, every important Greek classic had been issued. Leo X established a Greek printing press in Rome, and invited the aged John Lascaris to lecture. But the interest in Greek soon declined.

C. The University of Rome, 1513.

Leo X founded the University of Rome which soon possessed a staff of eighty-eight professors. But Leo's extravagance and consequent lack of money limited the success of his efforts. The activity of the University was restricted because the professors' salaries were not paid; Lascaris and Leonardo da Vinci left Italy for France, Bembo returned to Padua discontented with the treatment he had received from Leo at Rome, Michelangelo went to Florence.

D. Philosophy.

The influence of Aristotle seems to have become stronger in the beginning of the sixteenth century, but his followers sometimes failed to reconcile his teaching

with orthodox theology. Pomponazzi (1462-1524) declared that "religion and reason occupy separate camps ; neither can hold intercourse with the other." The Early Renaissance in Italy tended towards paganism, the Later towards philosophical agnosticism.

E. Archæology.

Excavations resulted in the discovery under Alexander VI of the Apollo Belvedere, under Julius II of the Laöcoon and Venus of the Vatican and stimulated the desire to learn more about old Rome. Raphael, appointed Inspector-General of Antiquities in 1515, proposed to continue the work of excavation and to preserve all that was left of Ancient Rome, but his death in 1520 prevented the execution of his plan.

III. Vernacular Literature.

The recognition of the literary value of the Italian language which had characterised the Early Renaissance¹ and the patronage of Leo X led to the production of important works in the sixteenth century.

- A. Ariosto (1474-1533) published his epic *Orlando Furioso* in 1516 ; his comedies include the *Suppositi*, 1509 ; he also wrote *Satires*.
- B. Bandello [d. about 1560] developed the Novella which was originally inspired by Boccaccio's *Decameron* and became a special feature of the Later Renaissance. The Novella was a short narrative, dealing with a striking situation or telling an anecdote. Grazzini and Cinthio were novelists, and the *Hecatommithi* of the latter was used by Shakespeare for some of his plots.

C. Tasso, 1544-1595.

Tasso's great epic, the *Gerusalemme Liberata*, appeared in 1580.

¹ *Notes on European History*, Part I, page 407.

D. The Idyll, which owed much to the *Arcadia* of Sannazzaro (1458-1530), was continued by Molza, 1489-1544, the author of *Ninfa Tiburina*.

E. The Florentine Historians.

The Florentine school of historians were "the most brilliant political writers who have ever illustrated one short but eventful period in the life of a single nation."¹

- (1) Niccolo Machiavelli (1469-1527) in his *Principe*, written in 1513, published 1532, while believing that "the rule of a people is better than that of a prince," asserts that the corruption of Italy made its people unable to live in freedom. The arm of a king was needed "which with absolute and overwhelming power may curb the overwhelming ambition and corruption of the nobles." The Prince must win popularity by deceiving the people with a pretence of maintaining ancient methods; opponents whom he cannot deceive he must kill. The Prince must not be restrained by considerations of mercy, morality or religion, for "those who conquer, in whatever way they conquer, never reap disgrace." Cæsar Borgia seemed to Machiavelli the ideal Prince.

Machiavelli's *Discourses*, begun in 1513, discuss the institutions necessary to keep the state vigorous and successful. His *Art of War* was published in 1521, his *Florentine History* in 1527.

Machiavelli applied the philosophical method to history. While using contemporary events "he was able to overstep the narrow limits of Central Italy and Lombardy, to think upon a large scale, and to reach some elevation of view."² His separation of statecraft from morality has been the ground of most of the adverse criticism to which Machiavelli has been subjected. His style was clear, vigorous and precise.

¹ Symonds.

² *Cambridge Modern History*, Vol. I, page 200.

(2) **Francesco Guicciardini (1482-1540).**

Guicciardini's *History of Italy* "can scarcely be surpassed for masterly control of a very intricate period, for the subordination of the parts to the whole, for calmness of judgment, and for philosophic depth of thought."¹

(3) Other eminent Florentine historians were Jacopo Nardi (1476-1556), Filippo Nerli (1485-1536).

F. Important prose works.

(1) *Il Cortegiano* of Castiglione (1478-1529), appeared in 1528. It describes the qualities of the perfect courtier and the duties of princes who must imitate God "not in demand of adoration from men, but in striving to be like Him in goodness and wisdom." The book urges the need of virtue in all, and is inspired by the spirit of mediæval chivalry.(2) Vasari's *Lives of the Painters*, published in 1550, shows the desire to obtain facts as a necessary basis of history.(3) The *Life of Benvenuto Cellini* (1500-1570), one of the greatest of biographies, shows the type of man, half artist, half bravo, the Renaissance produced.

IV. Painting.

A. The Great Painters of the Florentine School.

(1) Raphael (1483-1520).

He was the son of a painter of Urbino and became a pupil of Perugino, from whom he learned sound technique and good taste; the *Sponsalizio*, in the Brera Gallery at Milan, is an excellent example of his first, or "Peruginesque," period. Raphael went to Florence in 1504, and during his "Florentine" period gained freedom and strength and a truer perception of the beauty of the human body; *La Belle Jardinière* and the *Madonna del Gran Duca* belong to

¹ Symonds.

this period. His Roman period lasted from **1508**, when Julius II invited him to Rome, to his death in **1520**. The pictures of this period reveal consummate technical skill, the highest artistic perception and sincere religious imagination; the frescoes of the Vatican, the *Sistine Madonna*, the *Transfiguration*, **1520**, are some of the best examples of his latest work.

(2) Leonardo da Vinci, **1452-1519**.

A pupil of Verrocchio; in **1482** left Florence for Milan, where in **1496** he painted the fresco of *The Last Supper* which is remarkable for skilful composition, dramatic power, animation and variety. Went to France in **1515** and died at Amboise. His knowledge of anatomy helped him to treat accurately the human body; he possessed the power of grasping and reproducing essential features; the *Mona Lisa* shows his "love for the intangible"; the "eternal beauty" of his pictures is one reason for their popularity.

(3) Michelangelo Buonarroti, **1475-1564**.

Michelangelo, painter, sculptor, architect and poet, "the man of four souls," was a pupil of Ghirlandaio¹ and was influenced by Signorelli. He owed much to the patronage of Lorenzo de' Medici. He fully appreciated tactile values, "felt the beauty of the human form in every one of its motions"² and the *Bathers* illustrates the vigour and accuracy of his work. The frescoes of the roof of the Sistine Chapel, painted for Julius II, **1507-1512**, are his masterpiece and give a perfect representation "of the grandeur of man's possibilities, and the tragedy of his fall."³ The fresco of *The Last Judgment*, **1534-1541**, with its central figure of the Avenging Christ, is "infinite and terrible." He held that "good painting is itself noble and religious . . . an imitation of [God's] perfection, the shadow of His pencil, a music, in fine a melody."

¹ *Notes on European History*, Part I, page 415.

² Innes.

³ *Ibid.*

B. Correggio, 1494-1534.

Antonio Allegri, born at Correggio, is usually known by the name of his birthplace. His pictures are full of the joy and beauty of life, and this quality was partly due to Correggio's remarkable treatment of light. His early pictures have been described as lyrical outbursts of emotion. His sacred pictures lack religious feeling, but their charming cherubs help to make happiness the prevailing note of his Madonnas. Correggio's power of painting flesh, of drawing and of composition, and his sense of tactile values, made him one of the greatest of the Italian painters. His *Marriage of St. Catherine*, in the Louvre, and *The Night*, in the Dresden Gallery, are two of his best known works. His pictures have an affinity with the poems of Shelley and Keats.

C. The Later Venetian Painters.

(1) Tiziano Vecelli (Titian), 1477 or 1489-1576.

"The divine" Titian was a pupil of Giovanni Bellini¹ and owed much to Giorgione. Ruskin² found in Titian's pictures restrained harmony of strength, depths of balanced power, softness, purity, force and sanctity. His *Christ of the Tribute Money* and *The Assumption* are the best of his religious pictures and display masterly composition, refinement, attention to detail and the highest technical skill. His portraits, notably that of *Charles V at the Battle of Mühlberg*—possibly the finest portrait ever painted—are dramas in one act; they reveal character and display the painter's extraordinary power of reading the human heart. Titian is also "the forerunner of all nature-poets and nature-painters of our later times."³

(2) Jacopo Robusti (Tintoretto), 1518-1594.

Tintoretto, "the thunderbolt of painting," tried to copy "the drawing of Michelangelo and the colour

¹ *Notes on European History*, Part I, page 417.

² Quoted by Innes, page 115.

³ Innes.

of Titian." His pictures reveal powerful imagination, skilful use of light and minute attention to detail which sometimes leads to overcrowding, notably in *The Origin of the Milky Way*.

(3) Paolo Caliari (Paul Veronese), 1528-1588.

Paolo Veronese's pictures rather lack the intellectuality and imagination of Tintoretto, but represent the glowing colour and varied interests of contemporary Venetian life. He "satisfies and almost intoxicates the sense of sight";¹ he represents life as a continual feast and elevates pageantry to the height of serious art. The *Marriage of Cana* and *The Family of Darius at the Feet of Alexander* are good examples of his work.

D. The revival of Siennese painting.

The revival of painting at Siena, which took place in the early years of the sixteenth century, was due to Antonio Bazzi or Il Sodoma, a pupil of Leonardo da Vinci.

V. Architecture.

Bramante, probably the greatest architect of the Renaissance, came to Rome in 1499, built splendid palaces for Cardinals Riario and Corneto. Pope Julius II employed him at the Vatican and made him architect of St. Peter's, the foundation-stone of which was laid in 1506. Raphael became architect of St. Peter's on Bramante's death, and built the Vidoni Palace and the Chigi Chapel. Michelangelo's most famous work was the Sacristy of San Lorenzo in Florence, and, above all, the dome of St. Peter's. The Library of St. Mark, built in 1536, was the finest of the buildings with which Jacopo Sansovino adorned Venice.

VI. Sculpture.

Andrea da Sansovino and his pupil Jacopo Tatti continued the Florentine tradition in sculpture. Michel-

¹ Innes.

angelo's colossal figure of Moses destined with others to adorn the tomb of Julius II, his Pieta in St. Peter's, Rome, his figures of Night and Morning in San Lorenzo, Florence, are among the masterpieces of Italian sculpture. Cellini's most famous piece of sculpture was his statue of Perseus; he was the greatest goldsmith of his age.

VII. Decline of the Italian Renaissance.

The decline of the Renaissance began under Leo X. Signs of decadence may be seen even in the later work of Raphael and Michelangelo; Ariosto's Orlando gives a picture of Italy "revelling in sensual and intellectual luxury, the ravishing, seductive, musical and picturesque creation of decadence";¹ the literature of the period tended towards triviality and frivolity; the theatre became pagan and the Renaissance in Italy generally lost its creative power, partly because strong moral force was gone from the people.

Later Painting further degenerated under the Eclectics who, by trying to imitate the peculiar features of great masters, lost any power of original work; the cold and calculated style of Palladio, which sacrificed originality to the minute study of antique models, makes the Palladian style of architecture a decadent type. The Counter Reformation was hostile to the Renaissance; it denounced the philosophic agnosticism of Pomponazzi; the spiritual force it provoked led to the development at Bologna of a new school of painting based on fresh laws of taste.

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The Cambridge Modern History, Vol. I, chaps vi and xvi
Vol. II, chap. i; Vol. III, chap. iii.

A Short History of the Renaissance in Italy (Symonds).

Schools of Painting, Innes, Methuen, chaps. x, xi, xii.

One Hundred Masterpieces of Sculpture (Hill), Methuen, *passim*.

Lectures on Modern History. Acton, III.

¹ *Cambridge Modern History*, Vol. II, page 19

THE INVASION OF CHARLES VIII, 1494

I. Political Conditions.

Guicciardini declared that in 1490 Italy "was in utmost peace and tranquillity, . . . subjected to no lordship save that of her own people, . . . teeming with inhabitants and wealth." But political conditions were unstable, and though the policy of Lorenzo de' Medici had maintained peace by the triple alliance between Milan, Florence and Naples, disintegration began on his death in 1492. The five leading powers, Venice, the Papacy, Florence, Naples and Milan, looked only to their own advantage to which they were willing to sacrifice the interests of Italy; there was no national unity, no feeling of patriotism, which would lead all to combine against a foreign invader; the spirit of the people was weakened by tyranny, luxury and immorality; the general use of condottieri had diminished the fighting power of the Italians; the Renaissance had had a similar tendency and "the substitution of cleverness for principle was Italy's ruin."¹

The divisions of Italy afforded an opportunity of aggression to the French, Swiss, Spaniards and Turks. The French could easily attack Piedmont, Genoa and Milan; the Swiss could easily invade Milan, the Germans Lombardy and the Venetian Plain; Spain could attack Naples from Sicily; the Turks were a serious danger to the east and south.

A. Venice.

Venice had made peace with the Turks in 1479 and secured valuable commercial concessions although losing most of her territory in the Morea; she annexed Cyprus in 1488 and ruled over much of Eastern Lombardy; her wealth was great, her government stable.

¹ Creighton.

B. The Papacy.

Alexander VI (1492-1503) was anxious to form a temporal principality for his son Cæsar Borgia. The opposition of his great enemy Cardinal Guiliano della Rovere¹ and of the Orsini and Savelli increased his difficulties. The possession of the Turkish prince Djem,² younger brother and rival of Bajazet II, Sultan of Constantinople, whom Bajazet bribed Alexander to keep in Rome, was important in view of Charles VIII's desire to weaken the Turkish power. Alexander, who was on friendly terms with Alfonso II of Naples, strongly opposed the intervention of Charles in Italy.

C. Florence.

(1) Piero de' Medici.

The incapable Piero de' Medici, son of Lorenzo, was unable to maintain the supremacy of his house which had rested upon the personal qualities of his predecessors. He rejected the traditional friendship with France, broke the alliance with Milan, made an agreement with Ferrante I, the cruel King of Naples. A strong party in Florence opposed his policy and particularly resented the breach with France which had led Charles VIII to expel all Florentine merchants from France.

(2) Savonarola.

The preaching of Savonarola added to the feeling of unrest in Florence. On September 21st, 1494, he preached from the text, "Behold, I bring a flood of waters on the earth," and the invasion of the French was regarded as a fulfilment of his prophecy which had caused great terror in the city.

D. Naples.

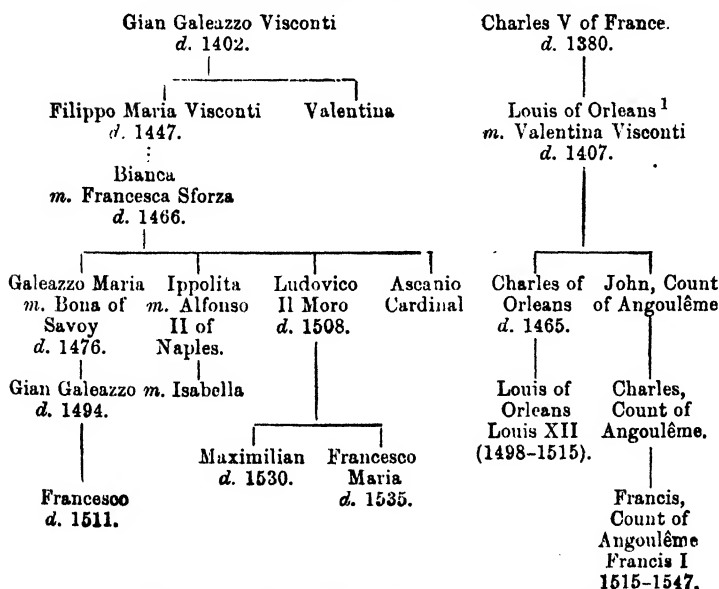
On the death of Alfonso V of Aragon, King of Naples and Sicily in 1458,³ Sicily remained attached to Aragon,

¹ Pope Julius II, 1503-1513. ² Otherwise Jem or Zizim. ³ Page 38.

the Kingdom of Naples passed to Ferrante I, Alfonso's illegitimate son. Ferrante had suppressed with great cruelty a rebellion of his nobles in 1485, and the survivors of the rebellion had found a refuge in France. His granddaughter Isabella had married the youthful Gian Galeazzo Sforza, Duke of Milan, but her husband was in the power of his uncle Ludovico, "the Moor." In 1492 Ferrante joined with Piero de' Medici in an alliance against Ludovico. On the death of Ferrante I, in 1494, Pope Alexander VI recognised Ferrante's son Alfonso II (1494-1495) as King of Naples and married his son Giofre Borgia to Alfonso's daughter. Giofre was made Prince of Squillace; Cardinal Cæsar Borgia received Neapolitan benefices.

E. Milan.

THE CLAIMANTS TO MILAN.



¹ See *Notes on European History*, Vol. I, page 512.

Galeazzo Maria Sforza was assassinated in **1476** and his widow, Bona of Savoy, carried on the government for her young son Gian Galeazzo, Ludovico Sforza, "the Moor," brother of the late duke, procured the execution of Simonetta, the faithful servant of Galeazzo Maria, obtained control of Gian Galeazzo, assumed the regency and drove Bona of Savoy from Milan in **1480**. The marriage of Gian Galeazzo to Isabella of Naples did not improve his position, and disputes as to precedence arose between Isabella and Beatrice d' Este, wife of Ludovico.

The position of Ludovico, who wished to become Duke of Milan instead of Gian Galeazzo, was precarious. Milan was one of the richest states in Italy and controlled Genoa and her navy, but her military strength was weak and Ludovico had to depend upon mercenary troops who sometimes proved unreliable. Francesco Sforza had seized Milan in **1450** after the death of Filippo Maria Visconti in **1447**,¹ but the Sforzas had never secured Imperial confirmation for Milan which was claimed by Louis of Orleans. Ferrante of Naples and his successor Alfonso II strongly resented Ludovico's treatment of Gian Galeazzo and Isabella of Naples, and when, after the death of his friend Lorenzo de' Medici in **1492**, Piero made an alliance with Naples and broke with Milan, Ludovico appealed to Charles VIII to invade Italy, hoping that a French invasion would avert the danger of an attack on Milan by Naples, Florence and the Pope.

II. Charles VIII.

A. Naples.

Charles VIII claimed the throne of Naples on the ground that Queen Joanna II on her death in **1435** had left her kingdom to René Le Bon, Duke of Anjou; René died in **1480** leaving his claim to Naples to his nephew Charles of Maine, who died in **1481**² and be-

¹ *Notes on European History*, Part I, page 327.

² *Ibid.*, page 331

queathed his rights in Naples by will to Louis XI, father of Charles VIII.

B. Milan.

Louis of Orleans had married Charles VIII's sister Jeanne and was heir-presumptive to the French throne. He claimed Milan because his grandfather Louis of Orleans had married Valentina Visconti, sister of Filippo Maria.

C. Charles VIII.

The wise regency of Anne of Beaujeu had given to France peace and prosperity. Charles, who had assumed the government in 1492 was a romantic and ill-balanced youth. He was anxious to use the power of France to conquer Naples, but he was hampered by war with Henry VII and Ferdinand the Catholic and by fear of Maximilian, who was angry because Charles had married Anne of Brittany who had been betrothed to Maximilian, had repudiated his undertaking to marry Maximilian's daughter Margaret, and kept Artois and Franche Comté which Maximilian claimed as part of the heritage of Charles the Bold. To leave himself free to accept the invitation of Ludovico, which was supported by the exiled Neapolitan nobles, by the people of Florence and Cardinal Giuliano della Rovere, Charles VIII, concluded in 1492 the treaty of Etaples by which he bribed Henry VII to withdraw from France; made with Ferdinand the Catholic the Treaty of Barcelona in 1493 by which he ceded Roussillon and Cerdagne; gave Artois and Franche Comté to Maximilian. He raised money by taxation, by the sale of domain land and by pledging future revenues.

The condition of France favoured Charles' design. The whole country was at peace and united under the authority of the King. National unity led to the desire for expansion, and it was thought that the armies which had driven out the English and overthrown rebellion would prove adequate for foreign conquest.

He hoped to conquer Naples and from Naples to defeat the Turks and capture Jerusalem; in 1493 he proclaimed himself King of Sicily and Jerusalem. Charles' fantastic plan was strongly opposed by Anne of Beaujeu and by "all persons of experience and wisdom"¹ but supported by "two lesser folk," Stephen de Vesc and Briçonnet, Bishop of St. Malo.

III. To Charles' departure from Florence.

A. The march to Florence.

(1) The descent into Italy.

In March, 1494, Charles went to Lyons where he wasted his money in dissipation. His army numbered more than 30,000 men, including not only French lances and infantry, but also Swiss and German mercenaries. Charles had excellent artillery consisting of thirty-six bronze cannon and many lesser pieces. He crossed the Alps by the pass of Mont Genève on September 2nd, remained some time at Asti owing to illness, and at Piacenza decided to maintain communication with the fleet, which carried part of his troops, by marching along the western road.

(2) Rapallo, September 8th, 1494.

Alfonso II had sent a force under his brother Don Frederick to resist the French, but these had been routed at Rapallo by Louis of Orleans on September 8th. Charles' advance was greatly facilitated by the victory of Louis who remained behind at Asti.

[October. Death of Gian Galeazzo, possibly poisoned by Ludovico's agents. Ludovico was elected Duke of Milan and recognised by Maximilian I who had married his niece Bianca Sforza. The danger from Naples had been removed by the French advance, and Ludovico, who resented the presence of Orleans at Asti, now lost interest in Charles' success.]

¹ Commines.

(3) Piero de' Medici surrendered.

Charles besieged Sarzana, but Piero neglected to defend the town and to take advantage of the opportunities of attack offered by the difficult country through which Charles was passing. He met Charles at Sarzana, surrendered to him Sarzana, Sarzanella, Pietra-Santa, Pisa and Leghorn, and offered to lend him 200,000 ducats. The Florentines were infuriated at these concessions.

(4) Pisa.

Charles entered Pisa and said he "was pleased that they should have their liberty." The Pisans at once renounced their allegiance to Florence and Charles left a French garrison in the city.

(5) Florence, November 17th-28th, 1494.

A rising in Florence was followed by the flight of Piero to Venice (Nov. 9th) and the proclamation of a republic. Charles entered Florence on November 17th with 12,000 men in martial array. His awkward physique impressed the Florentines most unfavourably; "he was more like a monster than a man."¹ He demanded that Piero should be recalled, and when the Florentines refused threatened "We shall sound our trumpets"; "Then," answered Piero Capponi, "we shall ring our bells." Charles, realising the danger of street fighting, withdrew his demand. The Florentines agreed to allow Charles to keep, until his return, the fortresses ceded by Piero, to pay 120,000 ducats; Charles agreed to restore Pisa to Florence; the Medici were to remain in exile.

On November 22nd Charles tried to appease the Pope by issuing a declaration that he designed to conquer only Naples with which his predecessors had been invested twenty-four times by the Pope, and that his ultimate object was to break the power of the Turks and recover the Holy Places.

¹ Guicciardini.

Savonarola warned Charles :—"The people are afflicted by your stay in Florence and you waste your time. God has called you to renew His Church. Go forth to your high calling lest God visit you with His wrath and choose another instrument to carry out His designs."

November 28th Charles left Florence.

IV. Rome.

Charles was now joined by the other divisions of his army, and reached Siena on December 2nd. Alexander VI was in a critical position ; the submission of Florence and the march of Charles through Tuscany had necessitated the withdrawal from the Romagna of Papal and Neapolitan troops ; the Colonna had seized Ostia ; the Pope's negotiations with Bajazet II were revealed to Charles, and Alexander's enemies demanded his trial before a General Council for simony and immorality. The arrival at Rome of Neapolitan troops under Ferdinand, Duke of Calabria, encouraged Alexander to imprison four hostile cardinals, but he soon released them and took refuge in the Castle of St. Angelo. He submitted, and Charles entered Rome on December 31st, **1494**, with from 50,000 to 60,000 men, and accompanied by Cardinal Giuliano della Rovere, who urged him to call a Council, depose the Pope and reform the Church. Alexander agreed to give Civita Vecchia, Terracina and Spoleto to Charles for a time ; to surrender Djem, who would prove useful in connection with Charles' plans against the Turks ; to give Cæsar Borgia as a hostage. Charles left Rome on January 28th, **1495**.

V. Naples.

A. The entry into Naples, February 22nd, **1495**.

Cæsar Borgia escaped on January 30th ; Ferdinand of Aragon, gratified by the title of "Catholic" recently bestowed on him by Alexander VI, demanded that Charles should not attack Naples which he claimed as the legitimate heir of Alfonso I. Alfonso II abdicated on

January 21st, and was succeeded by his son Ferdinand II. The French stormed Monte San Giovanni, Gaeta submitted, the Italian general Trivulzio made terms with Charles, the people of Naples rose against Ferdinand II who fled on February 21st. On February 22nd Charles entered Naples and was heartily welcomed by the Neapolitans. Djem died at Naples, probably of bronchitis, not of poison administered by servants of Alexander VI, and Charles VIII gave up his idea of a crusade against the Turks.

Commines regarded Charles' remarkable success as the "work of Providence"; Alexander VI is reputed to have said that "the French came into Italy with wooden spurs, carrying in their hands chalk to mark their billets."

B. Causes of the withdrawal of Charles VIII.

The cruelty and licentiousness of the French who showed openly their contempt for the Italians, the bestowal of all offices on Frenchmen, the heavy taxes Charles imposed soon aroused strong feeling in Naples. The powers of Europe were alarmed and their fears were increased when Charles on May 12th, 1495, made a state procession in Naples clothed in Imperial robes and carrying the Imperial orb and sceptre. Ferdinand the Catholic feared that Charles would attack his kingdom of Sicily; Venice and the Pope thought that Charles might attack them; Maximilian I resented the growth of the influence of France; Ludovico Sforza feared that Louis of Orleans, still at Asti, might maintain his claim on Milan, and was angry because Charles had not given him the Principality of Taranto as he had promised. The League of Venice was made on March 31st, 1495, between Maximilian, Ferdinand the Catholic, Ludovico and Alexander VI nominally against the Turk, really against Charles VIII. Florence refused to join because she hoped to recover Pisa with the help of Charles.

VI. The Retreat of Charles VIII.

Charles, though informed of his danger, unwisely delayed at Naples, and when he did start on May 20th left half his force behind to support the Count of Montpensier, his Viceroy in Naples, and Stuart d'Aubigny, Governor of Calabria.

Charles retreated unmolested through the Papal territory, but Alexander VI, relying on Venetian help, fled to Perugia and refused to meet him. At Poggibonsi, Savonarola upbraided Charles "because you have not kept faith with Florence, and have abandoned the reform of the Church." Charles promised the Florentines to give them Pisa, and promised the Pisans not to deliver them up to Florence.

A. Battle of Fornovo, July 6th, 1495.

Ludovico Sforza had summoned Louis of Orleans to evacuate Asti, but the latter refused, seized Novara on June 13th, 1495, and probably would have captured Milan if he had attacked it at once. The Milanese laid siege to Novara. Francesco Gonzaga, Marquis of Mantua, commanding an army of 40,000 men in the pay of Venice, attacked at Fornovo, on July 6th, Charles' army of 10,000 encumbered with an enormous baggage train bearing part of the spoils of Naples. Gonzaga's troops were too eager for plunder and he was routed by Charles.

B. Peace of Vercelli, October 10th, 1495.

Charles, anxious to leave Italy, made the Peace of Vercelli on October 10th with Ludovico, who did not consult the Venetians. Novara was restored to Ludovico, who acknowledged the suzerainty of the French over Genoa and promised to give a passage through his territory to Charles if he again attacked Naples. Charles promised not to support the claim of Louis of Orleans to Milan. Strong resentment was felt by the Venetians and Milanese at Ludovico's action. November 9th, 1495, Charles VIII arrived at Lyons.

C. The reconquest of Naples, 1496.

Ferdinand II returned to Naples. Ferdinand the Catholic sent Spanish troops under Gonzalvo de Cordova, "the Great Captain." Gonzalvo was defeated by Stuart d'Aubigny at Seminara, but Montpensier was forced to surrender to Ferdinand at Atella (July 21st, 1496), and Gonzalvo defeated d'Aubigny in Calabria. Ferdinand died and was succeeded by his uncle Frederick II, who, before the end of 1496, completed the reconquest of the kingdom of Naples by recapturing from the French Gaeta and Taranto.

D. Florence.

Charles, in spite of his promise to restore on his return the cities Florence had ceded, surrendered only Leghorn. His generals gave up the citadel of Pisa to the Pisans and sold Sarzana and Pietra-Santa to Genoa and Lucca respectively. Pisa, protected by Ludovico Sforza and the Venetians, held out against Florence until 1509 and Pietra-Santa until 1513. Florence never recovered Sarzana. "Thus the ally of France was the one to suffer most."¹

E. Venice.

Venice kept four important towns in Apulia—Trani, Otranto, Gallipoli, Brindisi.

VII. General.

Although Charles' "military promenade" had proved an utter failure it had results of great importance. It brought into close relationship the nations of Western Europe. It marks a new epoch in the politics of Europe, and may be regarded as the last great mediæval adventure and the beginning of modern times.

A. Italy.

The invasion "revealed at once the glory and helplessness of Italy." The culture and refinement of Italy

¹ Johnson.

strongly appealed to the northern nations ; her disunion, weakness and lack of patriotism seemed to render her an easy prey, and a succession of invasions from the north followed that of Charles VIII.

B. France.

The failure of Charles' expedition weakened the prestige of France, added to her financial difficulties and practically destroyed a great army. The ultimate results were of great importance.

- (1) The effect of the Renaissance was now felt in France, and although it did not gain a strong hold on the country it affected architecture, as was shown immediately in the alterations Charles made in the castle of Amboise, and stimulated the development of French literature. But the loose manners of Italy lowered the moral tone of France and impaired the health of the people.
- (2) The expedition of Charles VIII set up antagonism between France and Spain which was soon to have important consequences. It preserved Europe from France by diverting her efforts from the Rhine and the Low Countries, where she might have proved successful, to Italy where she was doomed to fail.
- (3) The relations between France and Italy under Charles VIII and Louis XII led in France to a development of a taste for the intriguing diplomacy which formed a special feature of her contemporary history.

C. The Balance of Power.

The idea of the Balance of Power, which had played an important part in the mutual relations of the Italian states, was adopted for the first time by the nations of western Europe in the League of Venice.

References :

Europe in the Sixteenth Century (Johnson), Rivingtons, pp. 4-25.

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SAVONAROLA, 1452-1498

Savonarola was born at Ferrara in **1452** ; entered the Dominican convent at Bologna, where he studied carefully the scholastic philosophy of Thomas Aquinas and the Bible ; went to Florence in **1489** and became Prior of the Dominican Convent of St. Mark in **1491**. His bold, passionate, dramatic sermons, dealing with the wickedness both of the citizens of Florence and of the Roman Church and prophesying ruin unless the Florentines mended their ways, inspired terror and gained him great influence. Among his adherents were Pico della Mirandola, Ficino, Botticelli and Michelangelo.

Savonarola's love for Florence led him to protest against Lorenzo de' Medici's policy which destroyed civil liberty.¹ Under Piero de' Medici he became a power in the state and acted as the spokesman of Florence with Charles VIII at Pisa and Florence in November, **1494**, and at Poggibonsi in May, **1495**. From the end of **1494** until his death in **1498** he was the leading man in Florence.

I. The Revolution of 1494.

Up to November, **1494**, when Piero fled from Florence, Savonarola had not taken an active part in politics,

¹ For his interview with the dying Lorenzo see Creighton's *History of the Papacy*, Vol. III, page 296.

although his prophecies of impending evil increased political unrest. But the establishment in December, 1494, of a new form of government was due to his advocacy.

A. The New Constitution.

(1) The Great Council.

The supreme power was vested in a Great Council for which all citizens of thirty whose immediate ancestors had held office were eligible, and which numbered 3000. The Great Council elected a committee to nominate candidates for the Signory, and from these nominees elected the Signory, which was still to consist of the Gonfalonier and the eight Priors of the Guilds¹ who were to hold office for two months. After one year all magistracies were to be filled by lot. The Great Council was to hear appeals. Another body, the Ten of Liberty and Peace, holding office for six months, were to conduct foreign affairs.

(2) Finance.

Savonarola in his sermons urged that direct taxation should be limited to one-tenth on immovables, to be levied once a year. His advice was accepted and the new tax continued for many years. The nobles suffered greatly, but consumers were affected by increased prices of corn, wine and oil. The merchants, the wealthiest class, were not affected. The tax proved inadequate, and forced loans and taxes on trade were used to make up the deficiency, while the State made a profit by debasing the currency and issuing "white farthings" of inferior metal.

B. Criticism.

- (1) The New Constitution, although influenced by the example of Venice, was an attempt to establish democratic government. But the conditions of election to the Great Council excluded 7000 citizens

¹ *Notes on European History*, Part I, page 375.

from membership and the appointment of insignificant men as Gonfaloniers and ambassadors lowered the political influence of Florence. Government was hampered by the removal "of the really operative elements in the State." The highest classes lost political influence, the lowest who were not members of Guilds gained none. The political power remained in the hands of the upper middle class.

- (2) Savonarola's interference in politics was a grave mistake ; it identified him with a political party, ultimately weakened his spiritual influence and was one of the causes of his overthrow.

II. Savonarola as a Reformer.

A. Moral reform.

For Savonarola politics were subordinate to ethics ; he was anxious to purge Florence of wickedness and to establish the rule of Christ in the city. Florence was affected by the immorality of the time, but compared favourably with Rome and Milan and was ready to support a reformer of morals.

(1) The Tuscan Convents.

Savonarola began by separating the Dominican Convents in Tuscany from the Lombard Congregation which had failed to enforce discipline on its constituent members ; he became head of the new Tuscan Congregation and tried, without much success, to reform the convents under his authority.

(2) The Burning of the Vanities, 1497.

His earnest sermons led to legislation which punished gambling by torture and blasphemy by piercing the tongue ; which regulated women's dress ; which endeavoured to suppress vice. They led also to a moral revival, to the suppression of horse-races, bonfires, improper songs and dances. Children were Savonarola's enthusiastic supporters, and at the

Carnival of 1497 they collected immodest books and pictures,¹ false hair, dice, playing cards, unseemly attire, looking-glasses and masks and burnt them in the "Burning of the Vanities," which took place on the Piazza de' Signori.

B. Ecclesiastical Reform.

(1) The Pope.

His dispute with Alexander VI led him to advance views which challenged the orthodox position.

- a. In February, 1496, he declared that if the commands of the Pope "contradict the law of love as set forth in the Gospel, we must withstand them as St. Paul withstood St. Peter. We cannot suppose such a possibility; but if it were so, we must answer our superior, 'You err; you are not the Roman Church, you are a man and a sinner.'"
- b. In February, 1498, he declared, "I await my commission from One superior to the Pope and to every other creature."
- c. Savonarola repeatedly declared the need of reform in the Pope, whose private character justly exposed him to most adverse criticism, and the Roman Curia urged the need of a General Council to undertake the task and circularised foreign courts on the subject.

(2) Savonarola and the Protestant Reformation.

Luther asserted that Savonarola had anticipated his statement of Justification by Faith. This is not correct. Savonarola denied no Roman doctrine, and acknowledged the headship of the Pope. He desired the reformation of the Church, but from within by a Council, not from without. He was the successor of Gerson² and d'Ailly³ rather than the predecessor of Luther.

¹ It is doubtful to what extent real works of art were destroyed.

² *Notes on European History*, Part I, page 289. ³ *Ibid.*, page 300.

C. Opposition.

Savonarola soon had to face opposition. His followers, known as Piagnoni (weepers) or Collettorti (wry-necks) were regarded as kill-joys and strongly opposed by the Compagnacci (companions), who consisted largely of young nobles enraged at the limitation of their pleasures. The political policy of the Piagnoni, which aimed at the maintenance of the new constitution and the exclusion of the Medici, led to the formation of the Bigi (greys), who wished to restore the Medici, and the Arrabiati (enraged) who opposed the Medici but objected to the changes in the constitution.

III. Savonarola and Alexander VI.

The Piagnoni still looked to France to help them to reconquer Pisa and refused to join the League of Venice; the Arrabiati wished to join the League of Venice and to stop all foreign interference in Italy. The Pope was a strong supporter of the League and was anxious to secure the adhesion of Florence; he was the ally of Ludovico Sforza whose brother Cardinal Ascanio Sforza had become a very prominent member of the Curia. Differences in their political aims started the quarrel between Savonarola and the Pope, but ecclesiastical questions soon arose between them.

September, 1495. The Pope suspended Savonarola from preaching owing to his political attitude, but Savonarola resumed his sermons in February, 1496, and refused to obey the Papal inhibition.

November, 1496. Maximilian I on behalf of the League invaded Italy, was welcomed at Pisa, but failed to capture the Florentine city of Leghorn and returned home. Savonarola was now at the height of his influence, and Alexander, to silence him, offered him the red hat of a cardinal. He refused—"Give me a hat, a red hat, but red only with blood."

November, 1496. Alexander then founded a new Tusco-Roman Congregation of Dominicans, and thus

destroyed the ecclesiastical independence which Savonarola enjoyed as head of the Tuscan Congregation.

May, 1497. A change in the Signory weakened Savonarola's position, and some Compagnacci, emboldened by the reaction against Puritanism, defiled his pulpit in the Duomo.

May 13th, 1497. Alexander VI excommunicated Savonarola for preaching dangerous doctrines and refusing to obey the Pope's summons to Rome.

August, 1497. An unsuccessful rising of the Bigi on behalf of the Medici led to the execution of five of their leaders and the restoration of the supremacy of the Piagnoni under Francesco Valori.

Christmas Day, 1497. Savonarola, in deference to the sentence of excommunication, had not preached since May, but had spent his time composing his greatest work, the *Triumphus Crucis*. But, although excommunicated, he celebrated Mass in San Marco, thus alienating many supporters, and he resumed preaching in February, asserting that his excommunication was illegal, and vigorously attacking the Roman Curia and the character of the Pope.

IV. The Fall of Savonarola.

Savonarola's fall was due to internal rather than external politics, although his suggestion that a General Council should be called increased the hostility of the Pope, who was strongly supported by the Franciscans, the rivals of the Dominicans. Many Dominicans turned against him, but the Signory, now containing a majority of his opponents, refused to send Savonarola to Rome as the Pope ordered, and contented themselves with persuading him not to preach.

A. Trial by Ordeal.

March 25th, 1498, a Franciscan challenged Savonarola to trial by fire; the challenge was declined by Savonarola but accepted by Fra Domenico da Peschia on his

behalf. Arrangements were made, but on the day of the trial, April 7th, 1498, proceedings were delayed by wrangles as to whether Fra Domenico should wear his robes or carry the Host in the fire. Heavy rain fell and the Signory postponed the ordeal.

B. The Surrender of Savonarola.

On April 8th, the Compagnacci led the mob, disappointed at the failure of the ordeal and now hostile to Savonarola, against the Convent of St. Mark. Valori, the Piagnoni leader, was slain. Savonarola and Fra Domenico surrendered.

C. The Trial of Savonarola.

Savonarola's execution was necessary to prevent a possible rising of the Piagnoni, to check division among the people which weakened the power of Florence. Charles VIII was dead, Pisa could be regained only through the League of which Pope Alexander VI was a prominent member.

The Signory refused to send Savonarola to Rome for trial, but allowed Papal Commissioners to try his spiritual offences and the Pope gained further support by granting the Florentines three-tenths of the ecclesiastical revenues of the city. The Signory was packed with Arrabiati, two hundred Piagnoni were refused admission. Savonarola was condemned on ecclesiastical grounds as a heretic and schismatic who had denied that Alexander VI was a true Pope and distorted the Scriptures; on political grounds for dividing the people, causing the death of many Florentines and wasting public funds.

May 23rd, 1498, Savonarola, Fra Silvestro and Fra Domenico were hanged in the Piazza.

V. General.

A. Moral influence.

Savonarola was a great spiritual force. He resisted the godless spirit of the Renaissance. He hoped to

drive out wickedness by establishing a commonwealth in which Christ alone was King ; he believed that he was inspired by God to carry his hopes into effect ; he preached that moral reformation was a necessary condition of true liberty.

B. A Church Reformer.

He advocated a reform of the Church, but from within by means of a General Council. Some of his teaching approximated to Wycliffe's theory that "Dominion is founded in Grace," but he remained a faithful son of the Church, fully accepting its orthodox doctrine and practice.

Although he illustrated the "individuality"¹ of the Renaissance his point of view was monastic and scholastic. His influence therefore was limited.

C. A politician.

His interference in politics was a grave mistake and weakened his position. The Florentines were disappointed that he did not recover Pisa ; the Pope, Milan and Venice resented his reliance on the help of France and the consequent refusal of Florence to join the League of Venice.

D. Personal.

He lacked the intellectual power of the great Protestant Reformers and was guided by sentiment rather than reason.

His moral earnestness led him into extravagance and this, together with his self-assertion and spiritual pride, provoked opposition.

But "his zeal for righteousness, his horror of sin, his sympathy for the poor, his love of children appeal to the earnest and loving of all ages."²

¹ *Notes on European History*, Part I, page 399.

² *Cambridge Modern History*, Vol. I, page 189.

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The Cambridge Modern History, Vol. I, chap. v.

The History of the Papacy (Creighton), Vol. III, chap. viii.

Europe in the Sixteenth Century (Johnson), Rivingtons, pp. 25-33.

THE FIRST AND SECOND ITALIAN WARS OF LOUIS XII,¹ 1499-1504

THE MILANESE WAR, 1499-1500

"The Europe which confronted Louis XII of France was in all its great essentials modern";² most of the modern national states had been established; most of the problems of modern European politics were involved in the diplomacy of the period.

I. The Claim of Louis XII to Milan.

Louis claimed Milan as the grandson of Valentina Visconti,³ and at his coronation called himself King of France, King of the two Sicilies and Jerusalem and Duke of Milan. His claim was opposed by Maximilian I on the ground that the original grant of Milan by Wenzel to Gian Galeazzo Visconti in 1395 precluded women from inheriting, and Maximilian asserted that Milan had reverted to the Empire on failure of male heirs. The Sforzas claimed a right to Milan because their family had held it since 1450 and had been recognised as dukes by Louis XI and Charles VIII; Ludovico Sforza, whom Italians regarded as "the wisest sovereign of the earth," although a usurper, was in possession.

II. The Break-up of the League of Venice.

Milan was easily accessible through Savoy from France; it commanded the plain of Lombardy and was an important factor in the politics of Italy. Ludo-

¹ For his third war see note on the League of Cambray, page 49.

² Dr. Hill.

³ Page 15.

vico was a member of the League of Venice, 1495 ; his position was gravely weakened by the break-up of the League.

A. The Pope.

(1) The plans of Alexander VI.

Alexander VI, who, in 1498, had ensured the overthrow of Savonarola because Florence would not join the League, now broke away from the League. He wished to establish Cæsar Borgia as lord of the Romagna and to crush the Orsini and Colonna ; Frederick of Naples had refused to give his daughter in marriage to Cæsar, and Alexander resolved to secure from France the help he needed for the success of his plans.

(2) The divorce of Louis XII.

Louis could obtain only from the Pope the divorce he sought from his first wife Jeanne, daughter of Louis XI. The Pope alone could give the Cardinal's hat desired by Louis' minister George d'Amboise, Archbishop of Rouen.

Cæsar Borgia took to France a bull for the divorce of Louis from Jeanne and a Papal dispensation for him to marry Anne of Brittany, widow of Charles VIII, in spite of affinity. Louis therefore promised to help Cæsar to get an Italian Principality, created him Duke of Valentinois in Dauphiny, gave him a pension of 20,000 livres ; in May, 1499, Cæsar married Charlotte d'Albret, a princess of Navarre.

[July, 1498, Louis confirmed the Treaty of Etaples and thus ensured the benevolent neutrality of Henry VII.]

B. Venice.

The Venetians were angry with Ludovico Sforza who had made the Peace of Vercelli¹ with Charles VIII without consulting them and had helped the Florentines

¹ Page 22.

THE FIRST AND SECOND ITALIAN WARS 35

in May, **1498**, to prevent the Venetians from gaining Pisa. They, too, were willing to come to terms with France.

By the Treaty of Blois (February, **1499**), the Venetians made a treaty of "perpetual confederation" with Louis and promised to help him to get Milan on condition of receiving Cremona and the Chiara d'Adda which belonged to Milan.

C. Maximilian I.

Maximilian, though not unfriendly to Ludovico, was at war with the Swiss and occupied with a constitutional struggle in Germany. Louis XII conciliated Maximilian by restoring to the Archduke Philip some towns in Artois about which a dispute had arisen and by referring to arbitration Maximilian's claim on Burgundy.

D. Spain.

Ferdinand of Aragon made with Louis XII the Treaty of Marcoussis (August, **1498**).

E. Switzerland.

March, **1499**. Louis XII and the Swiss made the Pact of Lucerne which secured for Louis the help of efficient Swiss mercenaries.

F. Ludovico Sforza.

Ludovico Sforza could get no help from his only Italian ally, Frederick of Naples. He appealed for help to the Sultan Bajazet II, whose troops ravaged the Venetian province of Friuli, but weakened the cause of Ludovico owing to the enmity he aroused by bringing the Turks into Italy.

III. The French Invasion of Italy, 1499.

The French army of 23,000 men and fifty-eight guns was reviewed at Lyons by Louis. It was commanded by Stuart d'Aubigny, the Milanese Trivulzio¹ and Louis,

Count of Ligny the patron of the Chevalier Bayard. The Duke of Savoy allowed the French to march through Piedmont. A French force was sent to help Cæsar Borgia in the Romagna; the Venetians agreed to attack Milan from the east.

Ludovico's general, San Severino, evacuated Alessandria, possibly owing to French bribes; the Venetians advanced without opposition; Milan rose against Ludovico, who fled to Maximilian in the Tyrol. Louis XII now came to Italy and entered Milan in triumph on October 6th. Genoa submitted to the French and Philip of Cleves was appointed Governor. Louis governed Milan well, but had to return to France leaving Trivulzio governor of the city.

IV. The French Invasion of Italy, 1500.

A. Ludovico regained Milan.

The severity of Trivulzio and the insolence of the French caused discontent in Milan: Ludovico entered the city with a force of 8000 Swiss whom he had collected without the sanction of the Common League of Switzerland; the French were driven out of Milan and Trivulzio and Ligny waited at Mortara for French reinforcements.

B. The Battle of Novara, April 5th, 1500.

An army, including a large force of Swiss infantry supplied by the Common League and led by Tremouille and the Cardinal d'Amboise, attacked Ludovico at Novara, April 5th, 1500. Ludovico's Swiss were persuaded by their compatriots in the French army to desert; Ludovico was captured in the disguise of a monk, sent to France and imprisoned at Loches until his death in 1508. Cardinal Ascanio Sforza and four other members of the family were also imprisoned. Ludovico's two sons, Maximilian and Francesco, found refuge with the Emperor Maximilian.

C. The Results of the Battle.

- (1) The power of the Sforzas was broken. The French re-entered Milan on April 17th, **1500**, and the mild rule of the Cardinal d'Amboise conciliated the Milanese.
- (2) Venice received Cremona. But in their fear of Ludovico they had brought into Italy the French who were a greater danger. "In their desire to win two districts in Lombardy they helped Louis to become master of two-thirds of Italy."¹
- (3) Louis sent a force to assist the Florentines to reduce Pisa, but the Pisans showed such goodwill towards the French that they withdrew and the siege failed.
- (4) Cæsar Borgia profited by the success of his allies and conquered the Romagna.
- (5) The Swiss secured Bellinzona and thus obtained an easy entrance into the Duchy of Milan.
- (6) Louis XII, now master of Milan, determined to conquer Naples.
- (7) Louis in July, **1500**, made a treaty with the kings of Bohemia and Hungary and of Poland; he had previously concluded an alliance with the Scandinavian kingdoms and had thus set bounds to the extension of Germany to the east as well as to the west. Maximilian was much perturbed and complained that Louis was aiming at the Imperial throne.

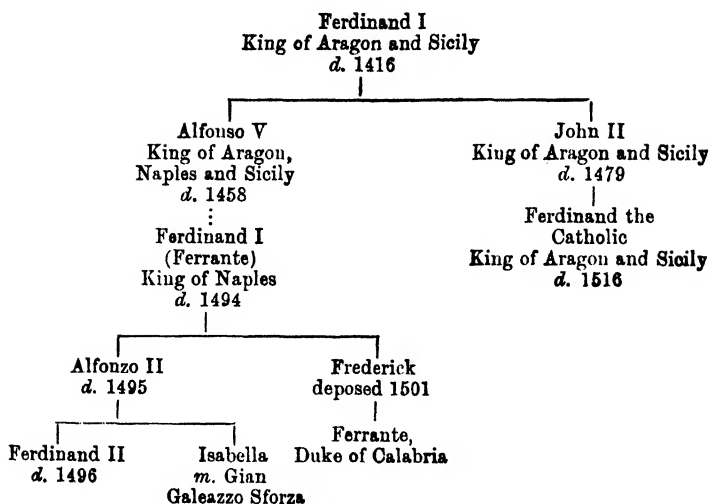
THE WAR OF NAPLES

I. French and Spanish Claims to the Kingdom of Naples.

A. Ferdinand the Catholic.

Ferdinand the Catholic claimed Naples as the legitimate male heir of Alfonso V and was already King of Sicily.

¹ Machiavelli, quoted by Johnson.



B. Louis XII.

Louis XII claimed Naples because in 1481 Charles of Maine had bequeathed the Angevin claim to the crown of Naples to the King of France, Louis XI; at his coronation he took the title of King of Naples and Jerusalem.

The conquest of Milan had ensured French predominance in Italy and Louis determined to use the opportunity afforded by that conquest and the alliance of the Papacy and Venice to secure the kingdom of Naples.

C. The Treaty of Granada, 1500.

By the Treaty of Granada, November, 1500, Louis and Ferdinand the Catholic agreed to divide Naples, Louis taking Naples, Lavoro and the Abruzzi with the title of King of Naples and Jerusalem; Ferdinand taking Calabria and Apulia with the title of Duke.

- (1) The treaty was barefaced robbery. Ferdinand, after making it, professed friendship for King Frederick

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who admitted Spanish troops under Gonzalvo de Cordova into his fortresses.

- (2) The nominal pretext was the fact that Frederick, failing to get the help he sought from Maximilian, had secured help from Bajazet II, the Turkish Sultan.

Both Louis and Ferdinand felt that there was real danger from the Turks who had invaded Friuli,¹ and routed the Venetians at Sapienza in 1499. Gonzalvo had helped the Venetians to reduce St. George in Cephalonia in 1500. Louis had made treaties against the Turks with the Kings of Bohemia and Hungary and the King of Poland in 1500. But the real reason of the Treaty of Granada was the greed and duplicity of the two kings.

- (3) The Treaty was ratified in June, 1501, by Alexander VI who pronounced the deposition of Frederick of Naples as a traitor to Christendom.
- (4) The Treaty "was the first open assertion in European politics of the principles of dynastic aggrandisement; the first of those partition treaties by which peoples were handed over from one Government to another as appendages to family estates."²

D. The Treaties of 1501.

The alliance between Louis and Maximilian was strengthened by treaties made in 1501 which arranged for the betrothal of Louis' daughter Claude to Maximilian's grandson Charles (V), which recognised Louis' claim to Milan and Maximilian's to Hungary and Bohemia.

II. The Conquest of Naples, 1501.

The northern part, terrified by the brutal sack of Capua, which was taken by the French in July, 1501, submitted. Frederick resigned his throne and went to France, where he received from Louis a large pension and the title of Duke of Anjou.

¹ Page 35,

² Johnson.

The southern part offered more opposition to Gonzalvo. But in March, 1502, he captured Taranto, which had been defended by Ferrante, Duke of Calabria, son of King Frederick. Ferrante was sent to Spain.

The kingdom of Naples was then divided between Louis and Ferdinand.

III. The Quarrel between Louis XII and Ferdinand the Catholic.

Disputes arose as to the possession of the Basilicata and the Capitanata, as to tolls payable on sheep passing from the Abruzzi to the Capitanata; the Colonnas who held land assigned to France sought the protection of Spain, partly owing to opposition to Cæsar Borgia; some towns in Apulia sought that of France.

IV. The War of Naples, 1502-1504.

A. Early operations.

- (1) Louis secured the neutrality of Cæsar Borgia by giving him a free hand in the Romagna.¹ D'Aubigny defeated Gonzalvo de Cordova at Terranova, December, 1502; Gonzalvo fell back on Barletta which probably would have surrendered but for the indecision of the Duke of Nemours, the general of the besieging army.
- (2) Gonzalvo received provisions from Venice and reinforcements from Spain, Sicily and Austria. In February, 1503, he made a sortie from Barletta and defeated and captured La Palice at Ruvo.

B. The Treaty of Lyons, 1501.

The Archduke Philip, father of Charles (V), made in August, 1501, the Treaty of Lyons² which provided that the whole of Naples should pass to Charles and Claude of France on their marriage. "With this event began the splendid dream of a United Europe in which the houses of Hapsburg and Valois should combine in one great confederacy under their joint rule nearly the whole of Christendom."³ Louis in consequence delayed

¹ Page 45.

² Above, I. D.

³ Dr. Hill.

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sending reinforcements to d'Aubigny and Nemours. But Ferdinand refused to ratify the treaty and Gonzalvo continued his military operations.

C. The Spaniards captured Naples, 1503.

April 20th, 1503. The Spaniards routed D'Aubigny at Seminara and secured Calabria.

April 28th, 1503. Gonzalvo, having left Barletta the day before, routed and slew Nemours at Cerignola.

May 13th, 1503. The Spaniards took Naples.

Gaëta and Venosa remained in French hands.

D. The Battle of the Garigliano, December 28th, 1503.

Louis XII now levied three armies, one to attack Fontarabia, another to invade Italy, the third to support the French cause in Naples. One fleet was collected at Genoa to support the invasion of Naples, a second at Marseilles to support the invasion of Spain.

The operations against Spain failed. The French army, under the Marquis of Mantua, was utterly routed by Gonzalvo on the Garigliano on December 28th, 1503.

The surrender of Gaëta on January 1st, 1504, was soon followed by the submission of Venosa and of the whole kingdom of Naples to Gonzalvo, to whose military skill, diplomacy and popularity with the Neapolitans the Spanish success was mainly due.

V. Louis XII's Mistakes.

The war of Naples resulted in the loss of that kingdom to France and the diminution of French influence. Louis, says Machiavelli, had ruined the weak Frederick who was willing to be his friend; he strengthened the dangerous power of the Borgias, called Ferdinand the Catholic, a powerful opponent of France, into Italy; failed to secure a permanent influence in Italy by residing there or colonising the country with Frenchmen. The interests of France suffered also from the diplomacy of the Cardinal d'Amboise, who was anxious to secure the support of Spain in his candidature for the Papacy.

References :

Europe in the Sixteenth Century (Johnson), Rivingtons, pp. 33-49.

History of France (Kitchin), Vol. II, pp. 139-148.

Cambridge Modern History, Vol. I, pp. 119-127.

A History of European Diplomacy (D. J. Hill), Longmans, Vol. II, chap. III.

POPE ALEXANDER VI, 1492-1503

Cardinal Roderigo Borgia, a Spaniard, was elected Pope in **1492**, largely owing to the efforts of Cardinal Ascanio Sforza,¹ who thought that the election of Della Rovere, the French candidate, might prove prejudicial to Milan and used Borgia's vast wealth and prospective patronage to win over the cardinals by gifts of money and high offices. The new Pope took the title of Alexander VI.

As Papal Vice-Chancellor for thirty-six years Borgia had displayed considerable powers of diplomacy, government and finance. He possessed exceptional vigour of mind and body and was a very handsome man of charming manners; although in eating and drinking he was most abstemious, his immorality was notorious. He had at least six children; Vanozza was the mother of Giovanni, Cæsar, Lucretia and Giofre, and Alexander's unscrupulous efforts to secure the advancement of his children profoundly affected the history of Italy.

I. To the death of the Duke of Gandia, June 15th, 1497.**A. Naples, 1492-1494.**

The powerful family of the Orsini, supported by Cardinal Giuliano della Rovere, were strong opponents of Alexander VI, who strongly resented the purchase by Virginio Orsini, Captain-General of Naples, of Anguillara

¹ A brother of Ludovico, Duke of Milan.

and Cervetri within the Patrimony of St. Peter which Innocent VIII had secured for his son Franceschetto Cibo. The purchase-money was probably supplied by King Ferdinand of Naples, and the transaction seemed likely to lead to a war of Venice, Milan and the Papacy against Naples in 1493. But Ferdinand the Catholic, suspecting the designs of Charles VIII, averted war and reconciled Alexander and Ferdinand of Naples. Giofre was married to Sancia, a daughter of Alfonso, and received the Principality of Squillace. On the death of Ferdinand, Alexander recognised Alfonso II as King of Naples, May, 1494.

B. Charles VIII.

- (1) Alexander opposed the invasion of Charles VIII and at first refused a passage for the French army through his territories. But the French took Ostia, the Colonna rose against the Pope, whose negotiations with Bajazet II¹ caused much scandal, Virginio Orsini admitted the French into his castles, and Alexander was compelled to give free passage to Charles in December, 1494, and to surrender Djem and Cæsar Borgia.

- (2) The League of Venice.

1495. Alexander VI took an active part in forming the League of Venice to drive the French out of Italy.

- (3) Savonarola (page 29).

Alexander saw the need of winning over Florence to the League of Venice, and his condemnation of Savonarola was due largely to the French sympathy of the latter.

- (4) General.

In his relations with Charles VIII Alexander "had acted as became a patriotic Italian prince," he opposed French intervention, and tried to drive the victorious French out of Italy.

C. The Orsini.

Alexander now determined to strengthen his position in Rome and the Patrimony. He strongly fortified the Castle of St. Angelo. His son Giovanni, Duke of Gandia, now appointed Gonfalonier of the Church, in spite of one defeat recovered, in February, **1497**, Anguillara and Cervetri from Virginio Orsini. Ostia was captured for the Pope by Gonsalvo de Cordova. Alexander was now master of Rome and ruled the city admirably.

D. The Murder of the Duke of Gandia.

On the death of Ferdinand II of Naples in **1496**, Alexander VI claimed Benevento and erected it into a duchy for the Duke of Gandia, although it was a Papal fief and belonged to the Church.

July 15th, **1497**. Murder of the Duke of Gandia.

- (1) In his grief Alexander made promises to reform the Church and prohibited the sale of benefices. But he soon resumed the practice.
- (2) The murderer was never discovered. The accusation against Cæsar Borgia was not made for nine months.
- (3) But the death of the Duke of Gandia improved the position of Cæsar Borgia. Cæsar had been made a Cardinal in **1493**, at the age of eighteen, but in **1498** Alexander released him from his vows "for the good of his soul," and from this time Alexander definitely aimed at creating a strong secular state for Cæsar.

II. Cæsar Borgia.

A. The French Alliance, **1499**.

To compensate Cæsar for the loss of the revenues of his cardinalate and to secure the help of Frederick II of Naples against the Roman barons Alexander proposed that Cæsar should marry Frederick's daughter Carlotta and Lucretia¹ the Duke of Biseglia, an illegitimate son of Alfonso II. The latter were married in August, **1498**, but Frederick refused to allow Carlotta to marry Cæsar.

¹ Lucretia had been divorced from her first husband Giovanni Sforza, Lord of Pesaro.

Alexander then turned to France for the help he needed to establish Cæsar, and his negotiations procured the alliance of Louis XII and the marriage of Cæsar, now created Duke of Valentinois, to Charlotte d'Albret,¹ in May, 1499. Louis XII sent a French force to support Cæsar's operations in the Romagna.

B. The Conquest of the Romagna.

The Papal States included the Patrimony of St. Peter, the Campagna, the Duchy of Spoleto, the March of Ancona and the Romagna (formerly the Exarchate of Ravenna). His victory over the Orsini had strengthened Alexander's power in the Patrimony and Campagna. He now desired to secure for Cæsar the Romagna which included a number of petty independent states, some of which Venice hoped to obtain. Owing to their alleged failure to pay the dues they owed to the Pope and encouraged by the French occupation of Milan in October, 1499, Cæsar attacked the states of the Romagna.

- (1) November, 1499, Cæsar captured the towns of Forlì, bravely defended by Catherine Sforza,² and Imola.
- (2) 1500. To raise money for Cæsar, Alexander created twelve new cardinals, who paid on an average 10,000 ducats apiece for the honour.
- (3) Autumn, 1500. Alexander averted opposition from Venice by helping the city against the Turks. Cæsar, now Gonfalonier of the Church, assisted by new French contingents, easily took Rimini and Pesaro and, in April, 1501, Faenza. Astorre Manfredi, Lord of Faenza, was later found drowned in the Tiber. Giovanni Bentivoglio was compelled to cede Castel Bolognese in the territory of Bologna.

Alexander VI created Cæsar Duke of Romagna in April, 1501.

¹ Page 34.

² Widow of Girolamo Riario. See *Notes on European History*, Part I, p. 334.

- (4) The Duke of Biseglia had been murdered by order of his brother-in-law, Cæsar Borgia. Marriage of his widow Lucretia to Alfonso, son of Ercole D'Este, Duke of Ferrara. The friendship of Ferrara, which protected the Romagna from the north and threatened Bologna, strengthened Cæsar's hold on the Romagna.

[July, 1501. In return for the ratification of the Partition of Naples¹ by Alexander, Louis XII's troops helped to suppress the Colonna and the Savelli who surrendered their castles to the Pope.]

- (5) 1502. Surrender to Cæsar of Fermo, Urbino, Camerino.

December 31st, 1502. Murder by Cæsar at Sinigaglia of his captains Oliverotto, Vitellozzo Vitelli, and later of Paolo Orsini, and his kinsman the Duke of Gravina, who had revolted against Cæsar, seized Urbino, and agreed with Giovanni Bentivoglio to resist Cæsar's impending attack on Bologna.

[January, 1503. Imprisonment and speedy death, possibly by poison, of Cardinal Orsini at Rome. Reduction of the castles of the Orsini.]

- (6) 1503. Recapture of Urbino and capture of Citta di Castello and Perugia by Cæsar.

C. The Death of Alexander VI.

By the middle of 1503 Alexander had won a large measure of success. He had broken the power of the turbulent Roman barons; Cæsar was master of the Romagna, and Alexander was hoping to secure his recognition as King of the territory he had conquered; Lucretia's third marriage had proved successful; a new creation of cardinals had brought the Pope 120,000 ducats. But the Pope was concerned as to his future relations with France and Spain which had quarrelled over the division of Naples, and Alexander feared lest the victor might limit the power of Cæsar.

¹ Page 39 (3).

Alexander VI died on August 8th, **1503**, of fever complicated by apoplexy, not through drinking poison he had prepared for Cardinal Corneto.

D. The later years of Cæsar Borgia.

Cæsar was very ill when his father died, but his troops held Rome; his agent seized much of the Papal treasure and came to terms with the Colonna, but failed to secure the Castle of St. Angelo. His future depended upon his relations with the new Pope and he tried to secure the election of a Spaniard. But the election (after the speedy death of Pius III) of Giuliano della Rovere, the great opponent of Alexander VI, was followed by a demand that the Romagna should be restored to the Papacy and Cæsar was imprisoned in St. Angelo. He escaped, went to Naples, whence, by order of Ferdinand the Catholic, he was transferred to a prison in Spain; he escaped to Navarre in **1506** and was slain while fighting for his brother-in-law the King of Navarre against a rebel on March 12th, **1507**.

E. General.

- (1) Cæsar's rapid success and personal character aroused the fiercest hatred. He was violent, treacherous, ruthless and immoral. He made no friends, "he affected darkness and seclusion," and his secrecy and taciturnity added to the fear with which he was regarded. The massacre of Sinigaglia was his "master-piece, matchless in craft and perfidy."
- (2) But he was quick to form plans and resolute in their execution. He was a master of diplomacy, and proved an excellent administrator in the Romagna, which found the stern but efficient government of one strong man far preferable to the oppression of a number of petty tyrants.
- (3) His historical importance lies in the fact that he showed that the only hope of Italy was union under one ruler powerful enough to resist foreign aggression.

III. Alexander VI.

A. The Consolidation of the Papal States.

(1) Coalescence.

The attempt of Alexander to consolidate the Papal States may be regarded as one phase of a movement towards coalescence which had resulted in the establishment of national kingdoms in England, France and Spain.

(2) The Papacy.

The Papacy had become secularised, the Popes had lost their moral hold on Europe and the old idea of the Holy Roman Empire had passed away.

The weak rule of Innocent VIII had shown that temporal power was essential if the Pope was to assert his authority over the barons of the Papal States and to maintain the influence of the Papacy in Italy. Alexander VI aimed at securing dominion over the Papal States, but he did this not to strengthen the Papacy, but to aggrandise his own family ; if he had been successful he would merely have added another to the states whose jealousy distracted Italy.

The immediate failure of his policy, which depended upon Cæsar, was mainly due to the fact that at his father's death Cæsar was too ill to take the steps necessary to maintain his power.

B. Foreign Invaders.

Alexander was compelled by circumstances to come to terms with the French and thus to assent to foreign intervention which combined with the distracted state of Italy to postpone national unity to a far distant date. But he believed that the safety of Italy depended on the jealousy of Spain and France, and tried to make the most of the opportunity this jealousy afforded. At the end of his life he was negotiating with the Spaniards to expel the French from Italy, with the French to drive out the Spaniards, with Venice to expel all foreigners.

C. Character.

His position was weakened by his simoniacal election and by his scandalous character which led Charles VIII and Savonarola to advocate the summoning of a General Council to try and, if necessary, to depose the Pope.

His character, bad as it was, was made worse by the bitter hostility of Julius II. Of the wholesale charges of poisoning brought against him Creighton accepts one and regards another as suspicious.¹

He was a most efficient administrator; after his death the Romans acknowledged "his good government, and the plenty of all things in his time." "As a ruler, careful of the material weal of his people, he ranks among the best of his age; as a practical statesman he was the equal of any contemporary."²

References :

Europe in the Sixteenth Century (Johnson), Rivingtons, pp. 49-55.

History of the Papacy (Creighton), Vol. III, chaps VI, IX; Vol. IV, chaps. x-xii.

Cambridge Modern History, Vol. I, pp. 225-241.

A History of European Diplomacy (D. J. Hill), Longmans, Vol. II, chap. iv.

THE LEAGUE OF CAMBRAY, 1508-1510

I. The Position of Venice.

A. Recent acquisitions.

During the fifteenth century Venice had become a powerful Lombard state.³ She had secured in 1499 from Louis XII⁴ Cremona and Chiara d'Adda; she held Trani, Otranto, Gallipoli and Brindisi in the kingdom of Naples; she had seized Faenza, Rimini and

¹ *History of the Papacy*, Vol. IV, Appendix II, page 263.

² *Cambridge Modern History*.

³ *Notes on European History*, Part I, page 363.

⁴ Page 35.

Cesena in the Romagna after the death of Pope Alexander VI in **1503**.

The maritime supremacy of Venice depended largely on her Eastern trade. The discovery of the Cape route to India ruined her trade with the East ; a project to preserve that trade by constructing a Suez Canal failed and the attempt of Venice to extend her territory in Italy, was, to some extent, an attempt to make up for her losses in the East.

Venice might have held her own against other Italians, but could not withstand the powerful kingdoms with which her Italian rivals made alliances without consideration for the safety of Italy. Machiavelli declared that the attack of the Venetians upon the Romagna "will either be the gate opening all Italy to them, or prove to be their ruin."

B. The Enemies of Venice.

Venice had thus roused the enmity of :—

- (1) Louis XII, who claimed, as part of the Duchy of Milan, Brescia and Bergamo which had been ceded to Venice by the Sforzas, and Cremona and Chiara d' Adda which he had given as the price of Venetian assistance in the war against Milan.

Louis' hostility to Venice, which might have helped him to recover Naples and which was a neighbour of Milan, was very unwise. It was due largely to the Cardinal d'Amboise, who sacrificed the interests of France to his desire to secure the Papacy for himself.

- (2) Pope Julius II (**1503–1513**), who claimed Rimini and Faenza as part of the Exarchate of Ravenna granted to the Papacy by Pippin the Short and Charlemagne, and was anxious to incorporate the whole of the Romagna in the Papal States.
- (3) Ferdinand the Catholic, who wished to recover the towns on the Neapolitan coast which had been granted to Venice by King Frederick.

- (4) Maximilian, who claimed Padua, Verona, Brescia, Friuli as fiefs of the Empire.
 - (5) The King of Hungary, who claimed Dalmatia; the Duke of Ferrara and the Marquis of Mantua, who sought to recover lands they had lost
- But European complications delayed the formation of the League.

II. The Treaties of Blois, 1504.

A. Spain and the Empire.

- (1) Ferdinand the Catholic strongly resented the fact that his daughter Joanna, who had married Maximilian's son Philip, would become Queen of Castile in her own right on the death of her mother, Queen Isabella. He resented also the union of Spain and the Empire under the Hapsburgs, which would occur when the youthful Charles (V), the son of Joanna and Philip, succeeded to Spain through his mother and the Hapsburg dominions through his father, and thus brought Spain under Hapsburg rule.

(2) Louis XII.

The Archduke Philip, who was at enmity with his father-in-law, Ferdinand the Catholic, was supported by his father Maximilian in his desire for an alliance with France. Louis XII, discredited by the failure of his expedition to Naples, was glad to make an alliance which would restore his credit and give him some protection against the aggression of Ferdinand.

B. The Treaty of Blois, 1504, was made between Maximilian, the Archduke Philip and Louis XII, and provided that

- (1) On the marriage of Louis' daughter Claude of France to Charles (V), Louis would give Milan, Genoa, Brittany and Blois as Claude's dowry.
- (2) That if Louis died without male heirs Burgundy should also pass to Claude.

- (3) (A secret article) that Maximilian and Louis should make a joint attack on Venice and divide her territories between them.

These treaties, to a considerable extent a repetition of the ineffective Treaty of Lyons,¹ were a grave mistake on the part of Louis; they gave Maximilian a footing in Italy; allied Louis with the Emperor against his natural ally Venice, on whose support his tenure of Milan largely depended; tended to dismember France. Louis as Duke of Milan formally recognised Maximilian as Emperor, paid homage to him for this Imperial fief and thus gave up "the Imperial aspirations of France."

C. The Treaty of Blois, 1505.

Isabella of Castile died in November, 1504, leaving her kingdom not to her daughter Joanna, but to her husband Ferdinand. Serious differences therefore arose between Ferdinand and his son-in-law the Archduke Philip; Ferdinand became reconciled to Louis XII with whom he made the Treaty of Blois of 1505. By this treaty Ferdinand married Louis' niece, Germaine de Foix; Louis gave up his claim to Naples in return for a substantial payment.

III. Maximilian invades Italy, 1508.

Maximilian, who resented the failure of the treaties of 1504 and the conclusion of that of 1505, was further irritated by the betrothal, in May, 1506, of Claude of France to Francis of Angoulême, the heir to the French throne. He believed that Louis was planning to secure the Papacy for France. He therefore determined to attack the French in Milan and to go to Rome for his Imperial coronation.

Venice, fearing his designs on Friuli, refused to give him a passage through her dominions and he therefore invaded her territories. He proclaimed himself Emperor-

¹ Page 40.

elect at Trent in February, 1508. His vassal, the Duke of Guelders, an ally of France, threatened the Netherlands, of which his daughter Margaret was Regent; Louis XII helped the Venetians; Maximilian failed to take Vicenza and was compelled to make a humiliating peace with Venice and Louis XII, to whom he promised the investiture of Milan. But the refusal of Venice to include the Duke of Guelders in the truce annoyed his ally Louis.

IV. Pope Julius II.

A. Perugia and Bologna, 1506.

Julius was angry because Venice had seized Rimini and Faenza in 1503 and, as immediate action against Venice was impossible, he attacked Perugia and Bologna. He won the help of the French by promising cardinalates to three nephews of the Cardinal d'Amboise, Louis XII's minister, and secured both towns in 1506. He regarded his success as the first step towards the overthrow of Venice and the conquest of the Romagna.

B. Genoa.

1506. Genoa revolted against French rule, but was compelled to surrender to Louis XII. Julius, a Genoese by birth, was troubled by the capture of the city, feared that Louis' successful army might be used against himself and knew that the Cardinal d'Amboise was anxious to secure his deposition by decree of a General Council and to become Pope. He had refused to grant Ferdinand the investiture of Naples, and feared that the friendly meeting of Ferdinand and Louis at Savona in 1507 might lead to their united action against him.

C. Venice.

1508. Julius was further enraged against Venice which had given asylum to Giovanni Bentivoglio the

exiled Lord of Bologna, and refused to allow the Pope to nominate a Bishop of Vicenza.

D. Diplomacy.

Ferdinand and Louis were now allies; Maximilian, recently the strong opponent of Louis, was eager to secure revenge for his treatment by Venice, and by skilful diplomacy Julius induced them all to join in the League of Cambray. But he did not wish to destroy Venice. His desire was "to constrain Venice to make the concessions he demanded, yet to prevent the predominance of any single foreign power by uniting all in a common action."¹

V. The League of Cambray, 1508.

A. The Parties to the League.

The bond forming the League was signed in the cathedral of Cambray in December, 1508, by Margaret of Burgundy, anxious to check the danger to the Netherlands from the Duke of Guelders, and the Cardinal d'Amboise. It included the Pope Julius II, Ferdinand the Catholic, Louis XII, Maximilian, Hungary, the Dukes of Savoy and Ferrara, and the Marquis of Mantua. Each party was to receive the territory which he had lost to Venice.

B. A great political crime.

- (1) The policy of Venice had been selfish, but much of the territory she had recently won had been received in return for services rendered, and she had as good a title to her possessions as many of her opponents had to their recent acquisitions.
- (2) When they joined the League Maximilian had recently made a three years' truce with Venice, Louis XII professed friendship, Julius II had recently promised to respect the integrity of her territory.

¹ Dr. Hill.

- (3) Julius II hoped by skilful diplomacy to play off Louis at Milan against Ferdinand in Naples, and to make the Papacy into a strong state in Central Italy. The power of Venice endangered the success of his plan ; he broke the power of Venice and thus destroyed "the one state in Italy which might have made head against the foreigner," and was the strongest bulwark of Christendom against the Turks.

The League of Cambray, a great political crime, was utterly selfish, grossly hypocritical, and, from the point of view of Italian nationality, thoroughly unpatriotic.

VI. The Overthrow of Venice.

A. The reduction of Pisa, 1509.

To secure the support of Florence for the League Louis XII and Ferdinand agreed to send no more help to Pisa, which had long been trying to maintain its independence of Florence. Florence paid Louis 100,000 ducats and Ferdinand 50,000.

June 8th, **1509**. The Florentines entered Pisa.

This shameful transaction was worthy of those who had made the League.

B. The Pope.

Louis declared war on Venice on April 7th, **1509**. The Pope, who had refused the offer of Venice to restore to him Rimini and Faenza, excommunicated Venice on April 27th.

C. The Battle of Agnadello or Vaila, May 14th, 1509.

Near Agnadello, the French, who were the first of the allies to take the field, attacked the Venetian army on the march. Alviano who commanded the rear fought bravely, but Pitigliano who led the van did not co-operate with his colleague and the French gained an overwhelming victory. The Italian cities refused to admit the Venetian fugitives and readily opened their gates to Louis.

- (1) Louis occupied Bergamo, Brescia, Crema and Cremona, and gained the whole of the Chiara d' Adda. He soon returned to France. The other members of the League reaped the advantage of the French victory.
- (2) Maximilian got Verona, Vicenza and Padua, whose offer of submission had been refused by Louis, and Friuli and Istria.
- (3) The Pope obtained Ravenna, Rimini and Faenza in the Romagna.
- (4) Ferdinand secured the coast towns of Apulia.
- (5) The Dukes of Ferrara and Mantua regained the territories Venice had taken from them.

VII. The Break-up of the League of Cambray, 1510.

A. Venice and Maximilian.

Owing to the loyalty of the townsfolk Padua was recaptured by the Venetians on July 17th, 1509. The peasants, who had suffered greatly from the ravages of French and Germans, supported Venice and supplied recruits for the army that Pitigliano succeeded in collecting, and which was now used to garrison Padua.

Maximilian now invaded Italy and laid siege to Padua; the attacking force was weakened by dissensions between the French and Germans. Maximilian was compelled to raise the siege on October 2nd and withdrew to the Tyrol. Vicenza soon afterwards submitted to Venice.

B. Venice and the Pope.

Julius saw that the result of the League had been to re-establish the French at Milan. The Venetians felt that Louis was implacable, and that their only hope lay in making peace with the Pope. Julius remained obdurate for some time, but quarrelled with Louis in September, 1509, as to the nomination of bishops in the dominions of the latter, and in February, 1510, made peace with Venice, who had been further weakened by the destruction of her fleet by the Duke of Ferrara.

Venice gave up her claim to tax her clergy, to nominate her bishops, and to try clergy in lay courts. She gave the Pope's subjects free navigation in the Adriatic. She acknowledged the Pope's right to the Romagna, and this acknowledgment marks the "definite consolidation of the Papal States."¹

The Pope absolved the Venetians from excommunication, and thus broke up the League of Cambray, and, as he said, "stuck a dagger into the heart of the French King."

[May 25th, 1510. Death, at Lyons, of the Cardinal d'Amboise.]

References :

Europe in the Sixteenth Century (Johnson), Rivingtons, pp. 61-66.

History of the Papacy (Creighton), Vol. IV, chap. xiv.

A History of European Diplomacy (D. J. Hill), Longmans, Vol. II, chap. iv.

THE HOLY LEAGUE

Julius II, regretting the part he had played in establishing the French in Milan, resenting the submission to the French of his own city of Genoa, desiring to secure for the Papacy the territory of the Duke of Ferrara, who was an ally of France and son-in-law of Julius' enemy Alexander VI, now determined to drive the French out of Italy.

The pretext for war was supplied by the Duke of Ferrara, who refused the Pope's demands that he should stop his salt works at Comaccio, which competed with those of the Pope, return the castles in the Romagna which had formed part of the dowry of Lucretia Borgia, pay a heavy tribute to the Pope and renounce his alliance with France.

¹ *Cambridge Modern History*, Vol. I, page 247.

I. An Unsuccessful Attempt.

July, 1510, Julius ensured the neutrality of Ferdinand the Catholic by investing him with Naples and Sicily. Owing to the influence of Mathias Schinner, Bishop of Sion, he received a promise from the Swiss of 15,000 men, and Venice was glad to fight against France. He excommunicated the Duke of Ferrara, attacked the French and met with some success at first, although a Swiss invasion of the Milanese proved a complete failure.

The Papal troops took Modena from the Duke of Ferrara, and in January, 1511, Julius took Mirandola in person. But in May, 1511, Trivulzio, the French general, captured Bologna, where the Pope's Legate, Cardinal Alidosi, had provoked strong resentment, and restored the Bentivogli; the French recovered Mirandola; Louis XII called a General Council at Pisa.

Julius, finding he could not with his available resources drive the French from Milan, sought further alliances and formed the Holy League.

II. The Holy League.

A. The position of Louis XII.

(1) Louis and the Pope.

Louis was unwilling to proceed to extreme measures against the Pope, and ordered Trivulzio to withdraw to the Milanese, hoping that the General Council would show Julius the folly of opposing France.

(2) Louis and Maximilian.

Louis relied upon the support of Maximilian with whom he had agreed, by the Treaty of Blois in November, 1510, to make a joint invasion of Italy.

(3) Louis and the Swiss.

Louis had owed much to the help the Swiss had given him, but resented their exorbitant demands and seemed unwilling to renew the treaty he had made with them in 1499.¹

(4) Danger to France.

Ferdinand the Catholic was anxious to secure Navarre; Henry VIII was jealous of recent French successes, and in November, 1511, made a treaty with Ferdinand to attack France.

B. The Formation of the League, 1511.

[September, 1511. The illness of Julius II seemed likely to cause a vacancy in the Papacy, and Maximilian endeavoured to secure his own election. The recovery of Julius rendered futile this remarkable scheme.]

October 5th, 1511. The Holy League formed between Julius II, Venice and Ferdinand the Catholic, who had secured from Venice the Apulian towns and did not wish unduly to weaken a power which might weaken the hold of France on Milan; he thought that his new alliance would enable him more easily to recover Navarre. The nominal object of the Holy Alliance was to recover Bologna and Ferrara for the Papal States, to maintain the unity of the Church, which was threatened by the Council of Pisa, to restore to Venice the territories she had lost. The real object was to drive the French from Italy.

November 13th, 1511. Henry VIII joined the Holy League.

November, 1512. The Emperor Maximilian joined the Holy League.

III. The Expulsion of the French from Milan.

A. The Battle of Ravenna.

Gaston de Foix,¹ Duke of Nemours, nephew of Louis XII, although only twenty-three years old, saved Bologna from a dangerous attack of the Swiss, defeated the Venetians, captured and sacked Brescia which the Venetians had taken, and completely routed Ramon de Cardona, the general of the League, at Ravenna on April 11th, 1512. But the death in the battle of Gaston

¹ Nicknamed "The Thunderbolt of Italy."

diminished the advantage the French gained by their victory, although the Romagna submitted to his successor La Palice. The Battle of Ravenna shows that artillery had become a deciding factor in great battles.

B. The Council of Pisa.

(1) The Council, including only four cardinals, met on September 1st, **1511**; owing to the hostility of the Pisans it was transferred to Milan, where, encouraged by the French victory at Ravenna, it declared the Pope contumacious and suspended from office in April, **1512**.

(2) The Lateran Council, **1512**.

Julius II summoned a Lateran Council, which met on May 10th, **1512**, and thus admitted the need of Church reform, kept the promise to call a council he had made at his election and rendered harmless the Council of Milan which he declared to be schismatical.

C. The retreat of the French.

(1) Maximilian had now joined the League and ordered the German mercenaries who had helped the French at Ravenna to return home. Their departure greatly weakened the French.

(2) A Swiss army invaded Italy in May, compelled La Palice, weakened by the departure of the Germans, to evacuate Pavia and Trivulzio to evacuate Milan. The French recrossed the Mont Cenis Pass and soon lost all their conquests except the castle of Milan.

[Henry VIII, hoping to recover Guienne, arranged with Ferdinand, who wished to conquer Navarre, for a joint invasion of France.

June, **1512**. An English force under the Marquis of Dorset landed in Guipuscoa to attack Bayonne. Alva reduced Navarre. Dorset, after an ineffective campaign, returned to England in the autumn.]

IV. The Settlement.

Differences now arose within the League. Julius II seized Parma and Piacenza, which belonged to Milan, and claimed Ferrara for the Papacy, although he had become reconciled with the Duke. Maximilian, although the ally of Venice, claimed some of her territories. A Congress at Mantua, August, **1512**, helped to settle the differences.

A. Milan.

Maximilian demanded Milan for his grandson Charles (V), but all feared to add to the dominions of the Archduke who, as heir to Maximilian and Ferdinand the Catholic, was certain to become the most powerful prince in Europe. Julius II favoured the restoration of the Sforzas, and on December 29th, **1512**, Maximilian Sforza, son of Ludovico, was restored to Milan by the Swiss, to whom he gave the Valtelline, Locarno and Chiavenna.

The Swiss thus gained important territory and now commanded the St. Gothard, Splügen, Maloja and Bernina passes. For the only time in their history the Swiss had appeared among the great and independent states of Europe.

B. Florence.

Julius was anxious to restore the Medici, to separate Florence from the French alliance, and to secure the help of Florence against the Spaniards whom he now resolved to expel from Italy if possible. The chances of the Medici were improved by the bribes they gave to the impoverished League.

The Florentines refused to readmit the Medici. A Spanish army, under Ramon de Cardona, sacked Prato on August 29th, **1512**; the Gonfalonier, Piero Soderini, fled, and on September 1st Giuliano de' Medici entered Florence. His brother, Cardinal Giovanni de' Medici,¹ came with a large force a few days later;

¹ Later Pope Leo X.

the republican reforms of 1494 were swept away, a narrow oligarchy under the control of the Medici was established.

C. The Papacy.

The Papacy recovered Bologna, from which the Bentivogli again fled, Ravenna and the rest of the Romagna ; Julius II seized Reggio and Modena, which belonged to Ferrara, and Parma and Piacenza.

D. Genoa.

Genoa drove out the French and elected Gian Fregoso Doge. "In the temporal as well as in the spiritual field, Julius II had achieved a triumph over all his foes."

V. Julius II died on February 20th, 1513.

A. The Founder of the Papal States.

Bishop Creighton says that "for good or for ill Julius is the founder of the Papal States;" Sixtus IV had used his position to aggrandise his family ; Alexander VI tried to secure the Romagna for Cæsar Borgia ; the successes of Julius II were gained for the Papacy.

- (1) At his death Julius left the Papal States firmly established, and he had made the Papacy the greatest political power in Italy.
- (2) His policy continued the secularisation of the Papacy, and involved the Papacy in the scramble for territory which was one of the features of the time, but it made the Papacy strong enough to withstand the Reformation which was partly political. "Had not the Papacy possessed a strong foothold in the States of the Church, it might, in the rapid movement of the Reformation, have been reduced to its primitive condition of an Italian bishopric."¹ The Papacy thus preserved was destined in time again to become the active head of the ecclesiastical system.

¹ Creighton.

B. The Liberator of Italy.

Julius desired also to drive the "barbarians" out of Italy, and the establishment of a strong Papal territory seemed the best means of securing the coalescence of Italy into a united nation strong enough to expel the invaders.

- (1) But in his efforts to establish the Papal States he strengthened the hold of the foreigner. The Treaty of Cambray established the French in Milan; the Holy League, formed to expel the French, established the Spaniards in Naples; the alliance made in November, **1512**, between Julius, desiring to gain Ferrara and to secure Imperial sanction for the Lateran Council, and Maximilian, who wanted Verona and Vicenza, seemed likely to drive the Venetians into alliance with France.
- (2) The net result of his policy was to strengthen the Austro-Spanish House and to enslave Italy to the foreigner.

C. Julius II and the Church.

- (1) In some respects Julius showed appreciation of the claim of the Papacy to universal spiritual domination. He continued to use the spiritual weapons of interdict and excommunication.
- (2) He recognised the need of reform; tried to check simony at pontifical elections; he called the Lateran Council of **1512** not only to denounce the schismatic Council of Pisa, but to carry out needed reforms.
- (3) But Guicciardini remarks that Julius had nothing of the priest but the vesture and title, and his political plans left little time for him to carry out any scheme of church reform.

D. Julius II and the Renaissance (page 3).

Julius was the patron and inspirer of the greatest artists of his time, and endeavoured to harmonise the culture of the Renaissance with Roman Catholic principles. "The expansion and elevation of the intellectual sphere is the most glorious achievement of Julius II and of the Papacy at the beginning of modern times."¹

E. Character.

The activity, ambition, courage, resolution and skilful diplomacy of Julius II enabled him to secure great advantage to the Papacy from the condition of Italy. But he owed much to the good fortune which secured success for some hazardous undertakings, and although he had achieved a large measure of success he had not liberated Italy from the foreigner.

His ambition was not personal ; he used the authority of his position to promote the welfare of the Papacy, not for the benefit of his family.

He was a fighting Pope, and the success of his military schemes tended further to impair the spirituality of the Papacy.

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¹ *Cambridge Modern History*, Vol. II, page 9.

FROM THE TREATY OF MECHLIN, 1513,
TO THE TREATY OF LONDON, 1518

I. The Treaty of Mechlin.

A. Louis XII and Milan.

Louis XII was anxious to regain Milan.

March 24th, 1513. He made an offensive and defensive alliance with Venice, who resented the claims made on her territory by Maximilian.

April 1st, 1513. He made a truce for a year with Ferdinand, and thus sacrificed his ally the King of Navarre.

B. The Treaty of Mechlin, April 5th, 1513.

(1) The opponents of France.

Henry VIII, anxious to wipe out the disgrace of the English failure in 1512¹ and inspired by Wolsey, formed a plan to dismember France. Margaret of Austria, daughter of Maximilian and Regent of the Netherlands resented the help sent by France to the Duke of Guelders. Maximilian wished to recover Burgundy. The Pope feared that if Louis XII regained Milan the Papacy would lose Parma and Piacenza which Maximilian Sforza allowed it to keep. Ferdinand was willing to join in a league against Louis, in spite of the truce he had just concluded with him.

(2) The Treaty.

Owing largely to Margaret of Austria the Treaty of Mechlin was made between Henry VIII, Maximilian, Ferdinand and Pope Leo X. The allies undertook to invade those parts of France which lay nearest them, but only Henry VIII was really anxious to carry out his share of the bargain. He had to bribe Maximilian, "the man of little pence," with 100,000 ducats to join the League; Leo X was too far away to invade France. Ferdinand did nothing.

¹ Page 60.

II. Louis' Third Invasion of Italy.

Louis, relying on his alliance with Venice and his truce with Ferdinand, resolved to invade the Milanese before Henry VIII invaded France.

A. The Milanese overrun.

La Tremouille and Trivulzio led the French forces. The Swiss, who were the strongest supporters of Maximilian Sforza, retired before them to Novara; the Milanese, who hated the Swiss, opened the gates of Milan, whence Sforza fled to the Swiss camp; Genoa drove out Doge Gian Fregoso and admitted the French; within three weeks the whole of the Duchy had submitted except Novara and Como.

B. The Battle of Novara, June 6th, 1513.

By a sudden attack, and in less than two hours, the Swiss utterly routed the French army, which was three times as large as their own, at Novara; hasty withdrawal of the French from Italy. The Venetians were defeated by the Spanish general, Cardona, who bombarded Venice itself.

[August, 1513. Henry VIII, with Maximilian, invaded France; won the battle of Spurs (Guinegate); captured Terouenne and Tournay. September, 1513. The Swiss, instigated by Maximilian, attacked Dijon, but were bribed by La Tremouille to retire.

September 9th, 1513. James IV, in support of the French, invaded England, but was defeated and killed at Flodden Field.]

III. The Recovery of France.

France was greatly weakened by her defeat at Novara and the loss of Navarre and Tournay. She was saved by disunion among her allies. Leo X wished to secure the support of France for his scheme of making

his brother Giuliano, King of Naples ; Ferdinand, fearing the aggrandisement of the Hapsburgs, tried to break the alliance between Maximilian and Henry VIII ; Henry VIII, disgusted with Ferdinand's double-dealing, was ready to make peace with France.

November, **1513**. Louis XII made peace with the Pope, renounced the Council of Pisa, acknowledged the Lateran Council.

July, **1514**. Peace was made between Henry VIII and Louis. The latter agreed to marry Henry's sister Mary and to pay Henry 100,000 crowns a year for ten years.

October 9th, **1514**. Louis married Mary of England at Abbeville. Although he was prematurely aged he altered his way of life to please his young wife, who had stipulated that if she married Louis, "an old man of fifty-two," she should be allowed to choose her next husband for herself ; "he had been used to dine at eight in the morning, now he dined at noon ; his habit was to go to bed at six, and now he was often up till midnight."

January, **1515**. Death of Louis XII. His foolish Italian schemes had resulted in the establishment of Spain in Naples, in the increase in the power of the Papacy and in the weakening of Venice his best ally.

IV. Francis I.

Francis was only twenty years old at his accession ; he was skilled in the use of arms and ambitious of military glory ; he desired to make France supreme in Europe, and to secure the Imperial Crown ; he was inspired by the example of Gaston de Foix,¹ longed to wipe out the disgrace of Novara and, as the great-grandson of Valentina Visconti, resolved to assert his claims on Milan.²

¹ Page 59.

² Page 15.

A. Diplomacy.**(1) Pope Leo X.**

Leo was anxious to strengthen the power of the Medici by securing Naples for his brother Giuliano, and Parma, Piacenza, Modena and Ferrara for his nephew Lorenzo, who had superseded Giuliano at Florence. He desired to secure the help of France and was gratified by the marriage of Giuliano to Philiberta of Savoy, sister of Francis I's mother, in February, **1515**.

(2) Charles (V).

March, **1515**. The young Archduke Charles, who had just become governor of the Netherlands in place of his aunt, Margaret of Austria, made an offensive and defensive alliance with Francis, partly through fear of the hostility which his grandfather, Ferdinand the Catholic, felt towards the Hapsburgs. Charles was betrothed to Renée, sister of Queen Claude of France.

(3) Henry VIII.

April 5th, **1515**. Henry VIII, although jealous of France, made a treaty with Francis who, to make himself absolutely secure against an attack from England, sent the Duke of Albany to maintain his interests in Scotland.

(4) Venice.

Francis I renewed the league between Venice and France.

(5) Genoa.

Ottavo Fregoso broke his agreement with Leo X and came to terms with Francis I.

B. A new League against France.

Leo X, finding that Francis I would not help Giuliano to get Naples, turned against him. Ferdinand the Catholic, who feared the growth of French power in

Italy; Maximilian, who asserted Imperial claims to Milan; Florence; Maximilian Sforza who wished to remain in possession of Milan and the Swiss completed the League. Ottavo Fregoso of Genoa joined the League but soon deserted it.

The adhesion of the Swiss was due to Mathias Schinner, Bishop of Sion, who overcame the opposition of Berne and Freiburg, which wished for peace with France, and persuaded the Confederate Cantons to reject the treaty which Francis offered to make.

C. The Battle of Marignano, September 13th, 1515.

Francis crossed the Alps by the Col d'Argentière in August, thus avoiding the Swiss who held the usual routes. The rapid advance of the French enabled them to defeat Prosper Colonna, the commander of the Milanese army, at Villafranca on August 15th, and to compel the Swiss to fall back on Milan. Francis, partly owing to the skill and valour of the Constable of Bourbon, Trivulzio, La Palice, the Chevalier Bayard and the Spaniard Pedro Navarra; partly to an opportune attack on the enemy's rear by Venetian horse under Alviano, utterly routed the Swiss at Marignano between Piacenza and Milan on September 13th. Francis was knighted on the field by Bayard.

- (1) This "battle of the giants" broke the power of the Swiss, "the tamers and correctors of princes," and ended their brief career as one of the great powers of Europe.
- (2) It was "the last great battle of the old romantic world, the last triumph of feudal chivalry over burgher infantry, as represented by the Swiss."¹
- (3) It checked the spread of republican ideas, which had been promoted by the success of the Swiss, re-established the principle of monarchical rule and marks the beginning of the long warfare of Francis I and Charles V.

¹ Kitchin.

D. Francis I and Pope Leo X.

The victory of Marignano was followed by the submission of Milan. Maximilian Sforza surrendered the castle in October, **1515**, and went to France to live on a pension from Francis.

But Francis had serious difficulties to face. Maximilian asserted his claim to Milan; Henry VIII seemed likely to attack France owing to the intervention in Scotland of Albany who had assumed the regency and compelled Queen Margaret, Henry's sister, to flee to England; Ferdinand was hostile. Francis therefore resolved not to attack Naples and to secure what he had won by making terms with the Pope who was eager to join the winning side.

(1) Terms of Peace, October, 1515.

Leo X refused to sanction Francis' proposed expedition to Naples; he surrendered, with reluctance, Parma and Piacenza to the Duchy of Milan, but, anxious, as ever, for the aggrandisement of his own family, he secured the support of Francis for his scheme for forming a principality for Lorenzo. Francis agreed to support Lorenzo in Florence, arranged for his marriage to Madelaine de la Tour d'Auvergne, a relative of the French royal family, sanctioned the attempt of Leo to obtain Urbino.

[April, **1518**. Marriage of Lorenzo and Madelaine.

Both died the following year leaving an infant, Catherine de' Medici, who married Francis I's son Henry (II) in **1533**.]

(2) The Concordat of Bologna, August, 1516.

The Concordat of Bologna annulled the Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges, **1438**, the foundation of the freedom of the Gallican Church; gave to the King of France the right of nominating to all benefices and of deciding ecclesiastical suits; dropped the claim that General Councils were superior to the Pope;

restored to the Pope annates, the first year's income of a new incumbent.

Thus the Pope gave up his spiritual powers to a temporal prince in return for pecuniary advantages.

"The French Church became the servant of King and Pope,"¹ and six hundred benefices were placed at the absolute disposal of the King. For the higher posts the King nominated nobles and thus a sharp division was made between the higher clergy and the lower. As the former required Papal confirmation they became ultramontane. The Concordat partly explains the great part played in the later history of France by political Churchmen.

E. The Peace of Noyon, August, 1516.

(1) Intrigue.

a. January, 1516. Death of Ferdinand the Catholic.

Ferdinand, always jealous of the Hapsburgs, had intended to divide his territories between his grandsons Charles, now governor of the Netherlands, and Ferdinand. But owing to Francis I's victory at Marignano he thought it unwise to weaken Charles, and therefore made him regent of Spain, Naples and the New World on behalf of his mother Joanna, who was insane. But Charles was hampered by the attacks of the Duke of Guelders on the Netherlands, the resentment of many Spaniards at his succession to the throne, and lack of money. He therefore was not prepared for war.

b. Wolsey.

Henry VIII's jealousy of Francis was increased by the victory of Marignano, and Cardinal Wolsey tried to unite Charles, Maximilian, the Pope and the Swiss against Francis. But Charles was fully occupied with his own

¹ Johnson.

EUROPEAN HISTORY

difficulties, Leo depended on French help for Lorenzo, the Swiss were tired of war, and eight cantons made peace with France in November, **1515**.

Wolsey therefore subsidised Maximilian to attack Milan and sent his agent Richard Pace to counteract the influence of Francis I in Switzerland.

(2) Maximilian invaded the Milanese.

March, **1516**. Maximilian, assisted by a large body of Swiss whom Pace's bribes won over and by a very small force sent by Leo X, invaded Italy. But when near Milan Maximilian "executed a right-about" and returned in disgrace to Germany, either because he had been bribed by the French, or because the Swiss refused to fight their fellow-countrymen in the French service, or because the Swiss were mutinous because he could not pay them.

Leo X, seeing Maximilian's invasion had failed, now sent a legate to assure Francis that he had sent no help to Maximilian. "Leo X," said Pace, "has played marvellously with both hands in this enterprise."

(3) The Peace of Noyon, August 13th, **1516**.

Following the wise advice of his peaceful minister Chièvres, Charles made the Peace of Noyon with Francis.

- a. Charles was betrothed to Louise, the infant daughter of Francis, whose dowry was to be the kingdom of Naples.
- b. Venice was to offer Maximilian 200,000 ducats for Brescia and Verona; if he refused and went to war with Venice, Charles and Francis were free to support either side.
- c. Charles promised to restore Navarre to the family of Albret.
- d. The French were to keep Milan.

(4) Francis I and the Swiss.

November 29th, **1516**. The whole of the Swiss Cantons made the "Everlasting Peace" with France.

(5) Maximilian and Venice.

December, **1516**. By the Peace of Brussels Maximilian in return for 200,000 ducats gave back to Venice Verona and other Venetian territories.

F. The Treaty of London, October 2nd, **1518**.

After the Peace of Noyon Wolsey had vainly attempted to induce Maximilian, the Pope and the Swiss to attack France. The growing danger from Selim I, who had become master of Turkey and Egypt and was threatening Hungary and Rhodes, the outposts of Christendom, led Charles, Maximilian and Francis, in March, **1517**, to unite at Cambray for a crusade against the Turk.

Wolsey therefore determined to establish friendly relations with Francis, who was anxious to regain Tournay, conquered by England in **1513**. Francis withdrew Albany from Scotland.

By the Treaty of London, Tournay was restored to France in return for 600,000 crowns; the infants Francis the Dauphin and Mary, Henry VIII's daughter, were betrothed.

The Treaty of London was a great triumph for Wolsey, who had made England the mediator of European politics and London the diplomatic centre of Europe. Leo's plan for a universal peace under his auspices had failed, and his failure had meant the further weakening of the international position of the Papacy, and "another advance in the national organisation of Europe."

V. The Results of the League of Cambray.

The Treaty of London closed the warfare which had followed the League of Cambray. It had resulted in the establishment of the French in Milan and the Spaniards in Naples and the expulsion of Maximilian from Italy;

it had greatly extended the Papal States and strengthened the Medici ; the Swiss had for a short time become a great European power ; the idea of the Balance of Power had been accepted as an important principle of European diplomacy ; it had brought France, and to a less extent Germany and Spain, under the influence of Italian culture and manners.

Venice had maintained her position as a great Italian state, although at a heavy cost. Her subsequent decline was not due to the weakening of her military power at Agnadello,¹ but to the discovery of new trade routes to India which diminished the commercial importance of the Mediterranean, and to the discovery of America which made Antwerp and London the commercial capitals of Europe. The consequent diminution of her commerce prevented Venice from recovering from the financial straits caused by the League of Cambray.

New political principles now superseded the old ideas of the feudal system and the Holy Roman Empire, which had played so great a part in the Middle Ages. These ideas had been based on "correlative rights and duties extending from the lowest vassal to the highest sovereign." Nationality was hencefore to prove the leading political principle, but nationality in the sixteenth century practically meant absolute monarchy. This idea was maintained by Machiavelli who taught, in *Il Principe*, that absolute monarchy was the only sure ground of moral order.

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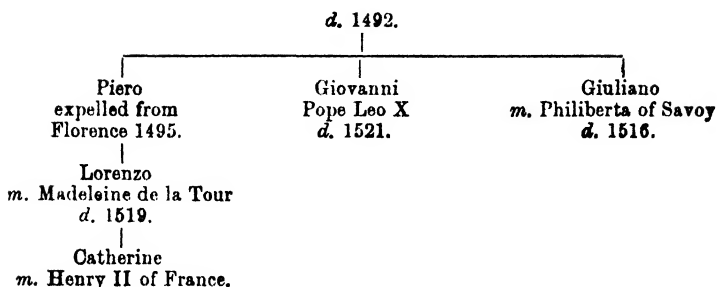
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¹ Page 55.

POPE LEO X, 1513-1521

LORENZO THE MAGNIFICENT.



Giovanni de' Medici, the second son of Lorenzo the Magnificent, although only in deacon's orders, was elected Pope at the age of thirty-seven in succession to Julius II. He had been educated by some of the greatest scholars of the Renaissance; he was a skilful judge of art; his natural love of display was fostered by the splendour of his father's court. He had travelled in France and Germany during the pontificate of Alexander VI; had shown considerable ability in arranging for the return of the Medici to Florence in 1512. His even temper, kindly disposition, pleasant manners and patronage of art and learning made his election popular.

But his determination to "enjoy the Papacy" resulted in undue devotion to hunting, games and songs, and his extravagance wasted the Papal revenues; if he had added to his good qualities "some knowledge of the things of religion, and a little more inclination to piety, both of them things for which he cared little . . . he would have made an ideal Pope."¹

¹ Sarpi, quoted in *Cambridge Modern History*, Vol. II, page 11.

I. Leo X and the Renaissance (page 4).

Under Leo X the Italian Renaissance, which had reached its zenith under Julius II, began to decline, and of this decline Leo's pleasure-loving, superficial character was one of the causes.

II. Leo X and Italian politics.**A. The aggrandisement of the Medici.**

Some historians say that Leo X used the Papacy to promote the interests of his family, others that he used his family to support the Papacy. Whatever is the correct explanation of his conduct he did much and tried to do more for his relatives.

- (1) He vainly tried to secure for his brother Giuliano the kingdom of Naples, and wished to make his nephew Lorenzo, Duke of Milan. He attempted to win the help of France (although France claimed Milan) by arranging for the marriage of Giuliano to Philiberta of Savoy.
- (2) Giuliano, "a good man, averse from bloodshed and from every vice," was superseded in Florence by the less scrupulous Lorenzo.

1516. Papal troops overran Urbino. Leo created Lorenzo Duke of Urbino and Lord of Pesaro.

1517. Francesco della Rovere, the rightful Duke of Urbino, seeing that Leo had been isolated owing to the friendly relations between Wolsey and Francis I, expelled Lorenzo and recovered Urbino, but was compelled to retire leaving Lorenzo in possession.

B. The Extension of the Papal States.

On the death of Lorenzo Urbino reverted to the Papacy. Leo now attempted to enlarge the Papal States.

1520. Failure of Leo to wrest Ferrara from Alfonso d'Este from whom he had already taken Modena and Reggio.

1520. Leo treacherously procured the murder of Gian Paolo Baglioni, Lord of Perugia, and Ludovico Fredrucci, Lord of Fermo, and seized Perugia and Fermo. Consequent submission, through fear, of other lords of the March of Ancona ; Leo thus acquired Recanati, Fabriano and Benevento and executed their former owners. While Baglioni and the others richly deserved their fate, Leo had no right to execute them and to take their possessions.

C. Leo X and France and Spain.

The French in Milan and the Spaniards in Naples made the Pope's position difficult. He intrigued with both parties, unscrupulously betrayed his allies when necessary, but remembered that it was "the custom of Popes nowadays to be always on the winning side."

1515. He made a league¹ to check the designs of Francis I on Milan, but effected an alliance with France after Marignano.

1517. When Maximilian I invaded the Milanese Leo professed friendship to both Maximilian and Francis I.²

1519. On the death of Maximilian Charles (V) and Francis I became rivals for the Empire.

Leo at first supported Francis and advocated a union of Francis, Henry VIII, Venice and the Papacy against Charles. But, realising that the friendship of Francis I and Alfonso d'Este would prevent him from securing Ferrara, and thinking that the French were a greater danger in Italy than the Hapsburgs he made an alliance with Charles, which England soon joined, in May, **1521.**

The expulsion of the French from Milan in November, **1521**, and the surrender of Parma and Piacenza, which Charles had promised to restore to the Papacy, seemed to guarantee the success of his schemes, but he died on December 1st.

¹ Page 68 B.

² Page 72.

III. Leo X and the Church.

A. The Lateran Council, 1512-1517.

The Lateran Council continued to sit. A proposal to form an episcopal college at the Roman Court was negatived by Leo, owing to the opposition of the cardinals; decrees, which had little effect, were passed against unlearned preachers and monastic exemptions. The Council recorded the abolition of the Pragmatic Sanction,¹ but this was the work of the Pope. But political questions absorbed the attention of the Pope; the peace of Christendom, war against the Turks and Church reform were tasks which required the agreement of Europe and the Lateran Council did nothing to carry them into effect.

March, 1517. Leo X dissolved the Council. It had enabled the Popes to crush the schismatic council of Pisa, but had done nothing to promote reform and so made the impending Reformation inevitable.

B. Leo X and the Pragmatic Sanction (page 70).

C. Leo X and Luther.

Leo X took little interest in theological questions, and his attitude towards Luther shows that he utterly failed to appreciate the importance of the occasion. He at first regarded the question merely as a "monkish squabble"; he did not realise the strength of the opposition to Papal claims and the strong demand for Church Reform in Germany.

It is probable that a more conciliatory policy on the part of Leo X would have lessened the effect of Luther's teaching. It is certain that the position the Pope and his representatives took up made Luther adopt an attitude that grew more and more hostile towards the Papacy and Roman Catholic doctrine.

The ninety-five theses on Indulgences, which Luther fixed on the door of the Castle Church at Wittenberg

¹ Page 70.

on November 1st, 1517, were proposals for discussion and argument about a point on which differences of opinion existed among orthodox believers. In reply Prierias asserted the infallibility of the Pope. At the Diet of Augsburg, 1518, Luther asserted his strict orthodoxy; denied that he had said anything inconsistent with the Scriptures, the teaching of the Fathers or the decrees of the Pope; offered to support his views by verbal or written argument. But Cardinal Cajetan refused to discuss the question and demanded that Luther should recant and promise to keep silence for the future. Luther refused to recant or give the promise demanded, and many Germans, who were not qualified to pass an opinion on the theological question, strongly resented the Pope's refusal to give him a fair trial.

June 15th, 1520. Leo X excommunicated Luther and thus asserted his absolute right to judge the issue and to close all discussion. "Thus he condemned Luther the reformer, whom the certainty of condemnation had driven to become Luther the rebel," for, knowing that the bull of excommunication had been drawn up, Luther in his pamphlet on *Babylonish Captivity* (October, 1520) denied the authority of the Pope and attacked the position of the priesthood, the value of tradition and the doctrine of Transubstantiation.

IV. General.

The splendour of Leo's court and his patronage of artists produced a sort of artificial prosperity in Rome, made the city for a time the real capital of Italy, and led men to regard his Pontificate as a golden age. Just before his death his political schemes seemed to have been crowned with success.

But his political schemes display a power of shifty diplomacy rather than serious statesmanship, and he left to his successors an embarrassing heritage. The lords of Urbino, Camerino, Perugia and Rimini resumed their old possessions on Leo's death; the future was

doubtful since the defeated French and their allies were soon to increase their forces, and Charles V was unwilling to intervene in Italy unless he received financial aid. But the Papal treasury could not afford that aid, for, owing to the extravagance of Leo, who owed his friends 850,000 ducats, it was so depleted that it could not afford to buy new wax candles for his funeral.

He failed to appreciate the urgent need of Church reform ; he seemed unable to understand the importance of Luther's position ; the abrupt methods employed by himself and his agents provoked strong opposition in Germany. Leo's lack of insight was one of the immediate causes of the Reformation.

Leo's patronage of Raphael cannot obscure the fact that under and partly owing to him the decline of the Renaissance in Italy began.

References :

History of the Papacy (Creighton), Vol. IX, chaps. XVIII, XIX, XX ; Vol. V, chap. VI.

SECTION II

**FRANCE AND SPAIN IN THE BEGINNING
OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY**

THE RENAISSANCE IN FRANCE

The national character of the French contained a strong Latin element ; the University of Paris was one of the greatest in Europe ; from **1494**, when Charles VIII invaded Italy, to the death of Henry III, France and Italy came into close relations.

But France, during the fifteenth century, had been engaged in the Hundred Years' War, and torn by civil strife ; her cities had none of the life and energy of those of Italy and Germany ; therefore the Renaissance had a far smaller effect in France than Italy, and, owing to the influence of Erasmus, the Renaissance in France contained a Teutonic as well as a Latin element. It was less philosophical, more educational and juristic than the Italian.

In France the influence of the Renaissance combined with national independence to produce new results, particularly in architecture ; but in vernacular literature the French Renaissance proved comparatively unproductive. "The annals of learning are a blank for France during the reign of Louis XI."¹

I. Humanism.

Scholasticism was powerful in the University of Paris ; the New Learning was long in establishing its influence, and did not secure the position it had attained in Italy until the time of the post-Renaissance scholars Scaliger, Salmasius and Casaubon.

In **1458** an Italian, Tifernas, was appointed teacher of Greek, but he soon returned to Venice ; John Lascaris lectured on Greek in Paris under Charles VIII ; the learned Italian, John Aleander, was Rector of the

¹ Kitchen.

University in the early part of the sixteenth century. The famous printers, Robert and Henry Estienne, published, the former, *Thesaurus Linguae Latinæ* in 1532, the latter, *Thesaurus Linguae Græcæ* in 1572. Guillaume Budé, or Budæus (1467-1540), one of the best Greek scholars of his day, and Adrien Turnèbe (1512-1565), professor of Greek at the Royal College which Francis I founded in 1530, were the best of the French humanists of the time.

The study of the original Latin texts led to a great development of Roman law for which the University of Paris was justly famed in the sixteenth century.

The issue in 1575 at Paris of the *Bibliotheca Veterum Patrum* promoted the study of the Fathers, while the issue of the *Commentary on the Pauline Epistles* by Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples in 1512 is an early illustration of the application to scholarship of the spirit of free inquiry and individual judgment which marked the Reformation.

II. The Fine Arts.

A. Painting.

French miniaturists had done excellent work in the fifteenth century, and the greatest of them, Jean Foucquet (1415-1480), was also a great painter. A French school of sculpture flourished, of which Colombe (*d.* 1512) and Jean Goujon were the most famous members. But the French kings patronised Italian artists; Francis I brought to France Leonardo da Vinci, who died at Amboise in 1519, and Benvenuto Cellini; and the competition of Italians prevented the development of distinctly French schools.

B. Architecture.

The chief glory of the French Renaissance is found in its architecture. Up to this time the prevailing type had been Gothic which had gradually become flamboyant, particularly in ecclesiastical buildings. But

the influence of classical models had modified the Gothic, and French Renaissance architecture at its best is distinguished for dignity and grace. It was applied to houses and castles, and Louis XII and Francis I, "the King of Culture," were builder kings who worthily continued the tradition Charles VIII had started at Amboise. Much of the best work of the time is found in the châteaux and towns of the Loire valley, and the château of Blois may be regarded as one of the best examples of the period.

G. Glass painting and enamels.

The French painters on glass were the best in Europe, and Julius II sent for two to paint the windows of the Vatican. Limoges enamels of the sixteenth century are among the choicest works of art the Renaissance has produced.

III. Vernacular Literature.

The lively ditties of Olivier Bassin, the sadder poetry of Charles of Orleans and Villon, "the first modern French poet," the devotional poetry of Clement Marot, the prose of Philip de Commynes are all excellent. François Rabelais, "among the deepest as well as boldest thinkers of his age," finished his *Gargantua* about 1535. Montaigne, who "of all Frenchmen was most thoroughly a son of the Renaissance,"¹ expresses in his *Essays* the cultured doubt of the new movement. But the general level was low and the total output small.

THE INTERNAL HISTORY OF FRANCE UNDER CHARLES VIII, LOUIS XII AND FRANCIS I

I. Charles VIII.

Charles was betrothed to Maximilian's daughter Margaret; Maximilian had been married by proxy in

¹ *Cambridge Modern History*, Vol. II, page 711.

1490 to Anne, who had become Duchess of Brittany on the death of her father, Francis II, the last Duke.

December, **1491**. Charles married Anne of Brittany at Rennes, thus repudiating his engagement to Margaret and robbing Maximilian of his promised bride. It was arranged that Brittany should belong to the survivor ; that if Charles died first Anne should marry his successor.

The importance of the reign of Charles VIII lies not in its very scanty domestic history, but in the fact that by the expedition of **1494** it initiated a foreign policy which profoundly affected the future history of France and Europe.¹

II. Louis XII.

A. His second marriage.

1499. Louis repudiated his first wife, Jeanne of France, and married Anne of Brittany,² thus maintaining the personal connection between France and Brittany. But Brittany was to remain independent of the crown and was to pass on Anne's death to her second son or eldest daughter.

Queen Anne cared much for Brittany, but little for France ; "the air of France did not agree with her." She urged Louis to undertake "the Italian expeditions"³ which proved disastrous ; wished to marry her daughter Claude to Charles (V). The meeting of the States-General at Tours in **1506** "was a kind of intrigue of the whole country, joined with the King, against the influence of Anne of Brittany."⁴ On her death in **1514** Claude was married to Francis of Angoulême.

[**1514**. Louis married Mary of England (page 67)].

B. Internal policy.

The policy of Louis XI had firmly established the power of the crown ; the nobles found full scope for their military ardour in the Italian wars ; France enjoyed peace and prosperity under Louis XII.

¹ Page 24.

² Page 34.

³ Pages 33 and 49.

⁴ Kitchin.

- (1) Louis, who said "it would ill become the King of France to avenge the wrongs of the Duke of Orleans," retained the old officials, even those who, like Tremouille, had opposed him; on failure of male heirs he granted to Susanne, daughter of Anne of Beaujeu, the estates of the Duchy of Bourbon, although he might legally have claimed them.
- (2) He consulted the States-General which, in 1506, urged him to marry Claude not to Charles (V) but to Francis of Angoulême, "who is all French"; and declared that Brittany and Burgundy were inalienable from France.
- (3) He lightened taxation; protected some people of Dauphiné from the persecution of over-zealous Churchmen; kept order in the country; one-third of France is said to have been brought under cultivation in his reign. The States-General at Tours called him *Pater Patriæ*, and the title was not undeserved as far as his internal policy was concerned.

C. Cardinal George d'Amboise.

But the real governor of France for good and evil was Cardinal George d'Amboise. The King thought the wisest plan was to "leave things to George," and the internal prosperity of the country and the development of the French Renaissance were due largely to him. He was Archbishop of Rouen, but unlike many of the leading ecclesiastics held no other French benefice. His desire to secure the Papacy led him to support Louis' invasions of Italy and he must bear the chief part of the blame for the failure of French diplomacy. When he died in May, 1510, Julius II exclaimed: "God be praised, at length I am the only Pope!"

III. Francis I, 1515-1547.

Francis, Count of Angoulême, succeeded his father-in-law, Louis XII, and on his accession the final union

was effected between France and Brittany, the dowry of Queen Claude, daughter of Louis XII and Anne of Brittany.

Francis was handsome, fearless and ambitious ; he was a patron of learning and the French Renaissance owed much to him. But he was immoral, self-indulgent, infirm of purpose and incapable of sustained action. He shares with Philip IV (the Fair) the ignominy of being the worst man who sat on the throne of France. His foolish mother, Louise of Savoy, had spoilt him, and until her death in 1531 exercised a baneful influence in France.

A. Reactionary government.

- (1) Francis despised the kindly government of Louis XII as weak and ineffective and ruled absolutely and tyrannically. He never summoned the States-General; compelled the Parliament of Paris, much against its will, to accept the Concordat of Bologna,¹ which put the Gallican Church under the power of the King ; imprisoned leading members of the University of Paris for protesting against the Concordat ; in 1527 he deprived the Parliament of all authority in ecclesiastical questions, the consideration of which was handed over to the Great Council.
- (2) The sale of magistracies, carried on by Louis, was extended by Francis, and thus the formation of the *noblesse de la robe*, a new social caste, arose. The lawyers definitely recognised the monarchy as the source of right.
- (3) Francis gained popularity among the nobles by lavish gifts. But when the nobles of the west, profiting by the defeat at Pavia which impaired the King's position, tried to secure some measure of independence, Francis held the "Great Days of Poitiers" and reduced them to obedience.

¹ Page 70.

B. Louise of Savoy.

The Queen-Mother shares the blame of her son's misgovernment. She and her infamous friend Du Prat, Chancellor of France, interfered with the administration of law and justice and were largely responsible for the heavy taxation which was imposed even on parts of France, like Provence, which had been wasted by war.

She was unscrupulous and rapacious. She seized 400,000 crowns which had been collected by Semblançay, the keeper of the royal finances, to pay the Swiss in Lautrec's army, and the evacuation of Milan in 1521 was partly due to the withdrawal of the Swiss because their wages were not paid. She and Du Prat soon afterwards ensured the execution of Semblançay.

Louise was the bitter enemy of Anne of Beaujeu. On the death of Anne's daughter Susanne, Louise offered to marry her widower, the Constable of Bourbon, who angrily refused to marry "a shameless woman." Louise then claimed Bourbon for the crown; in 1523 the Constable's property was confiscated, and he, in disgust, left France and entered the service of Charles V.

On her death in 1531 Louise left a million and a half golden crowns which Francis promptly seized.

C. The Reformation (see page 235).

D. The Condition of France.

Under Francis I the prosperity that had marked the reign of Louis XII disappeared. The country was hopelessly in debt and crushed beneath the weight of taxation, the proceeds of which were squandered on pleasure by the spendthrift king. Famine and pestilence devastated the land from 1528-1533, and many died of hunger. A spirit of lawlessness and immorality pervaded the whole of France.

IV. General.

The reigns of these kings have been called the Age of the Italian expeditions, and proved conclusively that

"Italy is the tomb of the French." The policy of interference in Italy was radically wrong. France had recovered rapidly from the effects of the Hundred Years' War, she was rich and, as events proved, strong enough to repel foreign invasion. If the kings had adopted a defensive policy and been content to make France "a great central fortress in Europe," they might have held the Balance of Power in Europe. As it was, the Italian expeditions wasted the strength and wealth of the country, greatly increased the baneful influence of Italy and revealed the utter inability of the kings to deal with the two greatest forces of the day, Charles V and the Reformation. The general result was disastrous failure without and hopeless misery within France.

References :

History of France (Kitchin), Vol. II, pp. 112-246 *passim*.

SPAIN, 1474-1520

I. The Marriage of Ferdinand and Isabella.

The marriage of Isabella, sister and heiress of Henry IV of Castile, whose daughter Joanna la Beltraneja was regarded by the nobles as illegitimate, to Ferdinand, son of John II of Aragon, took place on October 19th, 1469. Isabella became Queen of Castile in 1474; Ferdinand, who had previously received the kingdom of Sicily, became King of Aragon in 1479. The kingdoms of Castile and Aragon remained separate, Ferdinand had some share in the government of Castile, Isabella had no authority in Aragon.

II. Ferdinand and Isabella, 1474-1504.

Serious difficulties confronted the young King and Queen. A rebellion in favour of Joanna la Beltraneja broke out in Castile; Ferdinand and Isabella were so poor that they had to borrow money to pay the expenses

of their marriage ; the nobles were powerful, turbulent and very wealthy ; they held the Grand Masterships of the Crusading Orders of Santiago, Alcantara and Calatrava which involved the independent command of armies, while the Crown possessed only a very inadequate force ; the clergy were rich and possessed many privileges.

A. Internal Reform.

Ferdinand and Isabella gradually weakened the power of the nobles and Church.

(1) The Nobles.

a. The Royal Council.

1480. The Royal Council was reformed ; the powers of the nobles were restricted ; legal members nominated by the Crown were added.

b. Resumption of Crown Lands.

1480. Revocation of recent grants of land ; all titles to land were reviewed and much was restored to the Crown.

c. The Grand Masterships of Castile.

With the Pope's consent the Grand Masterships, hitherto the "chains and fetters of the Kings of Spain," were assumed by Ferdinand with reversion to Isabella, and soon attached permanently to the Crown.

d. Offices of State.

The powers of the chief offices of state, hitherto hereditary, were taken by the Crown ; the empty titles henceforth were borne as a mark of honour by loyal nobles.

e. The Hermandad or Brotherhood.

Isabella, in **1476**, revived in Castile the local militia or Hermandad. This was extended to Aragon and became a powerful royal force which was most successful in repressing anarchy.

(2) The Church.

The Crown secured from the Pope the right of presentation to bishoprics, of assenting to the publication of Papal bulls in Spain, and, in **1497**, Pope Alexander VI abandoned the right of hearing appeals from the Inquisition, and this right was vested in the Crown.

Thus the despotic power of the monarchy was successfully asserted over the nobles and the Church.

B. The Inquisition.

1478. The Inquisition had been introduced into Castile, and in **1483** into Aragon. The Crown appointed Inquisitors and received much of the proceeds of the property they confiscated. The tyranny of the Inquisition was "worse than death"; it led to strong opposition, but the support of the Crown enabled it to continue. Torquemada was Grand Inquisitor from **1482-1494**; Ximenes, Archbishop of Toledo, became Grand Inquisitor in **1507**.

The Jews were cruelly persecuted by the Inquisition; those who refused to be baptised were exiled in **1492** and the trade of Spain suffered from their departure. After this date many suspected of leanings towards Judaism were punished by the Inquisition.

C. Granada.

"The formation of the kingdom of Castile was the result of a series of encroachments on the Moorish kingdoms."¹

1492. The capitulation of Granada completed the conquest of the Moors, who were promised freedom of worship and education. But, largely owing to the efforts of Ximenes, attempts were made to induce the Moors to accept Christianity. These caused revolts, and in **1502** the Moors were compelled to accept baptism or to go into exile.

¹ Stubbs.

D. Foreign policy.

(1) Hostility to France.

Ferdinand was afraid of France and resented the attempts of French Kings to establish their power in Italy.

1493. Ferdinand secured Roussillon and Cerdagne.

1495. Ferdinand took an active part in the League of Venice.¹

1503. Ferdinand obtained the kingdom of Naples which Louis XII claimed.² Failure of a French invasion of Spain.

(2) Marriages.³

Marriages were arranged which were intended to secure the union of Spain and Portugal and to check the power of France.

a. **1496.** Betrothal of Catherine, daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella, to Arthur of England. They were married in **1501**.

b. **1496.** Marriage of John, only son of Ferdinand and Isabella, to Maximilian's daughter Margaret of Austria, and of their daughter Joann to Maximilian's son Philip.

c. Marriage of Isabella, the eldest daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella, to the King of Portugal.

The early deaths of John, Isabella, Queen of Portugal, and her only son left Joanna heiress of Castile and Aragon [which in **1516** passed to her son Charles (V)]. Thus "an alliance which had been originally made to protect the balance of power against France, was eventually to destroy that balance in the interest of the House of Hapsburg." (Johnson.)]

1502. The Cortes of Castile and Aragon swore allegiance to Joanna and Philip.

¹ Page 21.² Page 41.³ Page 121.

E. The Discovery of America.

1492. Columbus reached Cuba (which he thought was part of Asia) and Hispaniola.

1493. The Treaty of Tordesillas between Spain and Portugal provided that Portugal should keep new lands east of a line drawn three hundred and seventy leagues west of the Cape Verde Islands.

1500. Pinzon explored the coasts of Brazil and Venezuela.

The precious metals of the New World filled the treasury of Spain, but raised the price of Spanish goods so that they could no longer compete in foreign markets. But during the time of Charles V they produced in Spain a fictitious prosperity that hid the real poverty of the country and supplied Charles with the means of carrying out his plans.

F. The Death of Isabella.

November 26th, **1504.** Isabella died. "She was a great lover of justice, most modest in her person, she made herself much loved and feared by her subjects. She was greedy of glory, generous and by nature very frank" (Guicciardini). She was intolerant and approved of the cruelty of the Inquisition towards Jews and Moors, but toleration was an unknown virtue in her time.

The joint rule of Ferdinand and Isabella had checked the power of the nobles; established order; secured Granada, established the authority of the King and Queen over the whole peninsula except Portugal; gained Naples and a portion of Africa and part of the New World. The efforts of Gonzalvo de Cordova had made the Spanish army the best in Europe. But Castile and Aragon were united by a personal not a constitutional bond; the expulsion of the Jews and Moors deprived the country of valuable inhabitants; the Inquisition had stifled liberty of opinion; the easily won gold of America had serious financial consequences,¹ and led to neglect of internal trade.

¹ See above, E.

III. Ferdinand, 1504-1516.**A. The Crown of Castile.**

Isabella left the Crown of Castile to Joanna. Her husband Philip, acknowledged by the Cortes as King by marriage, secured the government of the country, much to Ferdinand's disappointment, but on the death of Philip in **1506** Ferdinand became master of Castile which he held on behalf of Charles (V) the heir of Joanna and Philip.

1505. Ferdinand married Germaine de Foix, niece of Louis XII.

B. Foreign Policy.**(1) Navarre.**

Ferdinand, strengthened by an alliance with England,¹ conquered Navarre from Jean d'Albret in **1512**.

(2) Italy.²

1506. Louis XII renounced his claim to Naples in favour of Ferdinand's wife Germaine de Foix; **1508** Ferdinand joined the League of Cambray against Venice; in **1509** Louis and Ferdinand agreed to sell Pisa to Florence; **1511** Ferdinand joined the Holy League against France.

(3) The Hapsburgs.

Ferdinand's relations with his son-in-law Philip were unfriendly, and after Philip's death he feared that the union of all Spain, the Netherlands and Austria in the hands of his elder grandson Charles (V), would be a danger to Spain and Europe. He therefore intended to leave Aragon and Naples to Charles' brother Ferdinand. But Francis I's victory at Marignano, September 13th, **1515**, revived King Ferdinand's fear of the supremacy of France; he therefore, by the advice of Ximenes, left all his dominions to Joanna, who was insane, and made Charles regent for her.

¹ Page 60.

² Page 37.

C. The Death of Ferdinand.

January 23rd, **1516**. Ferdinand died. He had worked hand in hand with Isabella to secure the unity of Spain, but if his hopes of an heir by his second wife, Germaine de Foix, had been realised Aragon would again have been separated from Castile. Ferdinand's policy had gained a considerable measure of success, but that success was largely due to his utter lack of scruple; this had been somewhat obscured by the sincere piety and religious enthusiasm of Isabella, but became very obvious after her death.

IV. The Early Years of Charles (V), 1516-1520.

A. Cardinal Ximenes, Archbishop of Toledo.

Ximenes had been a faithful minister of Ferdinand and Isabella; he had taken an active part in the Inquisition; he carried out a much needed reform not only in the Franciscan Order, to which he belonged, but in the other orders and the secular clergy of Toledo; he was a patron of learning and founded the University of Alcala (Complutum) which, at his instigation, printed the famous Complutensian Polyglot in **1514**.

(1) Regent of Castile.

Ferdinand had left Ximenes, now more than eighty years old, regent of Castile for Charles, whom he proclaimed king jointly with his mother Joanna in May, **1516**.

Ximenes revoked all lands granted to the nobles since Isabella's death in **1504**; repulsed an attempt of Jean d'Albret to recover Navarre; secured the person of Ferdinand, a possible rival of his brother Charles; tried to revive the old militia, which would have protected municipal privileges against the nobles; set aside Adrian of Utrecht who had been sent to act as co-regent.

(2) Opposition to Ximenes.

But the interests of the Flemings who desired alliance with France and cared nothing for Naples conflicted with those of Spain; Chièvres, the chief minister of Charles in Flanders, opposed Ximenes; the Spanish nobles, resenting Ximenes' strong rule, appealed to Charles.

(3) Dismissal of Ximenes.

Charles landed in Spain in September, 1517. The Spaniards resented the influence exercised over the young King by Chièvres and other Flemings. The Flemings, fearing that Ximenes would influence Charles, induced him to dismiss Ximenes, who retired to his diocese and died in November, 1517.

B. The difficulties of Charles.

Ximenes, realising the dangerous power of the nobles, had tried to maintain the supremacy of the Crown while "giving the people such rights and cohesion as should balance the power of the nobles. . . . Charles aimed from the first at the absolute power which in the end swallowed up the liberties of nobles and commons alike."¹

(1) The Flemings.

Charles aroused indignation by appointing Flemings to high offices. Chièvres became his chief adviser, and Chièvres' nephew was made Archbishop of Toledo. A Fleming was appointed joint president of the Cortes of Castile which met in November, 1517.

(2) The Cortes.

- a. The Castilian Cortes refused to recognise Charles as sole King; prayed him to learn Spanish.
- b. The Cortes of Aragon acknowledged Charles as joint ruler with his mother, who was to be Queen alone if she recovered.

¹ *Cambridge Modern History*, Vol. I, page 370.

(3) Discontent.

Charles secured money by selling offices and by means of the Inquisition. He attacked the privileges of the nobles. Castile was jealous of the favour he showed to Aragon. The Election of Charles as Emperor in succession to Maximilian in **1519** aroused the fear that Spain would be degraded to a province of the Empire ; Charles' intention to leave Spain to receive the Empire was resented, and although he was compelled to summon the Cortes he called them to Corunna, whence he could easily escape by ship if necessary. The first outbreak of the impending rising took place at Toledo in April, **1520**.

May, **1520**. Charles left Spain "almost as a fugitive."

References :

Cambridge Modern History, Vol. I, chap. XI.

Lectures on European History (Stubbs), Longmans, I.

Europe in the Sixteenth Century (Johnson), Rivingtons,
pp. 91-106 and 137-139.

Spain (Martin Hume).

SECTION III

GERMANY, 1493-1519

THE RENAISSANCE IN GERMANY

I. Learning in Germany during the Fifteenth Century.

Although general interest in the New Learning was not aroused in Germany until the beginning of Reuchlin's controversy with Pfefferkorn in **1509**, the fifteenth century showed some interest in learning and art which received the patronage of Maximilian, Joachim, Elector of Brandenburg, and Frederick, Elector of Saxony.

A. German Scholars.

- (1) Johann Müller, or Regiomontanus (**1436-1476**), studied Greek in Italy, translated scientific treatises from Greek into Latin, and founded an astronomical observatory at Nuremberg. He first made humanism the handmaid of science.
- (2) Rudolf Agricola (**1443-1485**) tried to spread in Germany the humanism of Italy and lectured on Greek and Latin at Worms.
- (3) Johann Wessel (**1420-1489**) studied Greek philosophy in Italy and on his return taught Greek and Hebrew in Germany. His criticism of Purgatory and Indulgences is an early example of the criticism of orthodox belief which was to form so marked a feature of the early part of the sixteenth century.

But the old scholastic teaching found strong support, and for some time humanism made little progress in Germany.

B. Art.

(1) Painting.

German painting was of native birth, although many German painters visited Italy in this century. It

originated about 1350 in the school of Cologne, of which the most famous example is Stephan Lochner's *Dom-bild*, painted about 1440. The Westphalian School was at its best about 1450. The Swabian School included Hans Holbein the Elder (1460 ?-1524) and his greater son Hans Holbein the Younger (1497-1543), who moved to Basle, where he painted the *Meyer Madonna*, and during his residence in England painted *The Ambassadors* and the portrait of Henry VIII. Albert Dürer (1471-1528), pupil of Wolgemut, was the most famous painter of the Franconian School. "He carried German art to its highest point of imaginative expression." His *Crucifixion* and woodcut "The Triumphal Arch," executed in 1512 in honour of Maximilian, are among his best known pictures.

(2) Engraving and metal work.

Dürer's engravings are his finest work, the metal work of Peter Vischer of Nuremberg and the sculpture of his friend Adam Krafft are of the highest merit.

C. Education.

Although Erasmus deplores the low intellectual standard of Germany in his early days the development of education gave good promise for the future, and the new invention of printing was destined to promote the diffusion of learning.

(1) Schools.

The school established by the Brethren of the Common Life at Deventer (of which Agricola and Erasmus were scholars) and similar schools exercised a great influence in Northern Germany. The schools of the Brethren were not only classical; they encouraged the study of the German language and encouraged scholars to read the Bible in the vernacular.

(2) Universities.

In 1400 Germany had seven universities. From 1456-1506 nine new ones were founded. In these a struggle arose between the old academic party and the supporters of the New Learning, the former striving to maintain the predominance of theology. The Universities were divided; Ingolstadt and Cologne strongly supported the old views, humanism gained a strong position in Tübingen, Wittenberg and Erfurt.

(3) There was much literary activity in other centres, notably in Strasburg, Augsburg and Nuremberg.

Thus by 1500 the ground had been prepared; in a few years a rich harvest was to be reaped.

II. The "Ship of Fools" (*Narrenschiff*), 1494.

The *Ship of Fools*, by a layman, Sebastian Brand, town clerk of Strasburg, was printed in 1494. It treats sin as folly, tells of the adventures on the sea of life of a fleet manned by fools. It was a popular book; it criticised the faults of Church and State, and revealed the combination of a desire for true morality and true learning which marked the Renaissance in Germany.

III. John Reuchlin (1455-1522).

Reuchlin had studied philology in Paris, law in Orleans, and had lectured on Greek in Tübingen. During a visit to Italy he met Pico della Mirandola,¹ who inspired him with his own interest in Hebrew. Reuchlin learned Hebrew from a Jewish doctor, published in 1506 his *De Rudimentis Hebraicis* which accentuated the tendency towards religion which marked the German Renaissance, and "practically made the Hebrew Scriptures Christian," and turned them into an instrument of reform.²

¹ *Notes on European History*, Part I, page 406.

² *Cambridge Modern History*, Vol. II, page 696.

A. Reuchlin and Pfefferkorn.

- (1) Pfefferkorn was a converted Jew who, in **1509**, obtained from Maximilian an order for the destruction of all Hebrew books except the Bible. Reuchlin, in the interests of learning, opposed the order and was in consequence accused of heresy. Reuchlin's books were burned by the Inquisition, but he was acquitted of heresy by the Pope in **1516**.
- (2) This dispute, which was a conflict between old ideas and the new humanism, aroused the greatest interest in Germany, where it gave a strong impetus to the study of Greek and Hebrew, especially in connection with Biblical criticism. Reuchlin was the father of Old Testament criticism.

B. *Epistolæ Obscurorum Virorum*, **1515**.

Reuchlin's friends had written him letters of sympathy which he published in **1514** under the title of *Clarorum Virorum Epistolæ*. These provoked, in **1515**, the publication of the satirical *Epistolæ Obscurorum Virorum* addressed to Ortwin Gratius, an opponent of the New Learning, by some of the younger humanists, including, probably, Ulrich von Hutten. They poured contempt on the reactionary party and, although their virulence and personal spite disgusted Erasmus, did much to popularise the Renaissance in Germany.

IV. Desiderius Erasmus, **1466** (or **1467**)-**1536**.

Born at Rotterdam, went to school at Deventer, where his headmaster was the famous Alexander Hegius; visited Oxford and met Grocyn, Colet and More; studied in Paris and Italy; became Lady Margaret Professor of Theology at Cambridge, **1510-1513**; lived at Basle from **1514-1536**.

A. *The Praise of Folly*, **1509**.

The Praise of Folly, written in England, was a satire in Latin on the follies of the age, and especially those of

scholastic theologians, monks and Popes. It reflected the existing tone of thought, gained great popularity and made Erasmus one of the leading humanists of the day.

B. The Greek Testament, 1516.

Erasmus revised the text and the accepted translation of the New Testament. His edition contained the revised Greek text and, in parallel columns, a new Latin translation of his own.

This *Novum Instrumentum*, as the first edition was entitled, marks the application to the New Testament of the methods employed by Renaissance scholars in dealing with classical texts. Erasmus is the father of New Testament criticism.

C. The Fathers.

Erasmus edited the writings of many of the Fathers, particularly Jerome (published 1516), Origen and Augustine which had previously existed, in many cases, only in almost illegible manuscripts.

D. General.

(1) A great humanist.

Erasmus was primarily a humanist, his main interest was literature ; he loved religion for the sake of literature, and not literature for the sake of religion. He was not a Reformer ; he wrote as a classical scholar, not as a western divine. He realised the faults of the times, but desired to remedy them gradually, by means of learned criticism rather than by a radical change of doctrine. He is "the father of modern latitudinarianism." He differed from Luther in method and in outlook, for the scholasticism of Luther was inconsistent with the humanism of Erasmus.

He carried out his work in the true spirit of the Renaissance. "To the ancients reverence is due . . .

yet they are to be read with discretion. The moderns have a right to fair play. Read them without prejudice, but not without discrimination. In any case let us avoid heated contention, the bane of peace and concord."

But the work done by Erasmus (and Reuchlin) in dealing with the Scriptures greatly assisted the Reformation.

(2) Erasmus and religion.

As Erasmus was a German humanist his humanism had a marked tendency towards religion and his writings have a strong moral and ethical aim. He deplored the ignorance and folly of Churchmen; he wrote "to remedy the error which makes religion depend on ceremonies and observation of bodily acts, while neglecting true piety."

His work was educational. He was anxious to promote the intelligent study of the Scriptures, the best guide to moral conduct, and advocated their translation into the vernacular. "I long that the husbandman should sing them to himself as he follows the plough, that the weaver should hum them to the tune of his shuttle, that the traveller should beguile with them the weariness of his journey."

Erasmus, though not himself a Protestant, prepared the way for Protestantism in Germany.

V. Melancthon, 1497-1560.

Philip Schwartzerd, usually known as Melancthon, became Professor of Greek at Wittenberg in 1518. He advocated classical literature as a sound foundation for school work. His *Discourse on Reforming the Studies of Youth* and the Greek and Latin text-books he wrote materially assisted the progress of the New Learning in Germany.

VI. The Renaissance in Italy and Germany.

The Renaissance in Italy¹ had involved a transition from the ideas of the Middle Ages to those of the Modern World ; caused an outburst of intellectual energy ; emphasised the importance of the individual ; stimulated criticism. It had been concerned mainly with classical subjects ; although the Italian humanists were often irreligious they did not apply the new critical methods to the Church, and, in Italy, reformers had no connection with humanists.

The influence of the Italian Renaissance profoundly affected Germany, and many of the German humanists studied in Italy. But Germany had not the classical tradition of Italy ; the main interest of Germany was the Christian religion ; the beauty of literary style and form, which was a marked feature in Italy, made little appeal to the Germans, and the Italian sympathy with the spirit of paganism made no appeal at all. The German Renaissance was essentially Teutonic ; it "won its way by conflict with old institutions and old modes of thought,"² by opposition to the Church and to long accepted dogmas ; it was more theological and less philosophic than the Italian ; its main task was the elucidation of the Bible, and it had a strong moral purpose. There was therefore a strong connection between the German Renaissance and the Reformation.

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History of the Papacy (Creighton), Vol. V, chaps. I and II.

Cambridge Modern History, Vol. I, pp. 569-575, 606-607 ; Vol. II, pp. 696-699.

Lectures on Modern History. Acton, III.

¹ *Notes on European History*, Part I, page 390.

² Creighton.

THE EMPEROR MAXIMILIAN I, 1493-1519

I. The Condition of Germany at the end of the Fifteenth Century.

A. The Royal Power.

Although there was a real sense of national life in Germany no strong national monarchy had arisen to give unity and firm government to the country. Their position as heads of the House of Hapsburg led the kings to adopt a dynastic rather than a national policy. But the royal authority was acknowledged; the Holy Roman Empire, weak though it was, gave to the King of Germany a not inconsiderable feudal revenue, great dignity and distinct influence over the whole of the country.

B. The Great Vassals.

The great vassals were not powerful outside their own domains; even in their domains they were feudal lords dependent on the Emperor and not independent princes, and they found great difficulty in controlling their own turbulent vassals.

C. The Imperial Knights and Cities.

The lesser nobility, the Imperial Knights, such as Götz von Berlichingen¹ and Franz von Sickingen, were poor and lawless, continually disturbing the country with private war. The Imperial towns were, save for their dependence on the Emperor, free states; they opposed the feudal lords; were strongly fortified and gave to their inhabitants protection which promoted the development of commerce and learning; but their strength was defensive rather than aggressive. The interests of both the knights and the cities were local and not national.

¹ Or Götz of the Iron Hand.

D. The Peasants.

The peasants were subject to the oppressive conditions of feudal tenure; the general rise of prices which marked the period pressed heavily upon them, and economic conditions, particularly in the Black Forest and Alsace, made it difficult for them to obtain a living. There was therefore a strong tendency towards socialistic and revolutionary schemes which frequently led to serious outbreaks under the banner of the *Bundschuh*, or peasants' clog, with its motto, "O Lord, help the righteous," or "Only what is just before God."

E. Government.

(1) The Diet.

The Diet was the feudal council of the Emperor attended only by tenants-in-chief. It was divided into three Colleges or Estates: the seven Electors, the lay and spiritual Princes, the Imperial Cities; the first two Estates attended in person, the Cities sent deputies. The Imperial Knights were excluded from the Diet, and therefore refused to pay taxes imposed by the Diet.

The work of the Diet was hampered by jealousy between the Estates; its procedure was slow and costly; it proved ineffective in practice.

(2) Other departments.

The Imperial Chamber (*Reichskammergericht*) was controlled by the Emperor and unpopular; there was no sound system of imposing and collecting taxes; the Imperial Army was levied with the utmost difficulty and generally proved ineffective to secure peace at home or victory abroad.

The urgent need of Germany was a strong, efficient, national government. The lack of this led to local unions for the protection of life and property; of these the best known was the League of the Swabian

Towns founded in 1487 and including Princes and Knights as well as Cities.

The weakness of the German government largely accounts for the extension of Scandinavian power in the north ; the separation of Bohemia, which became an anti-German Slav state ; the conquest of the Duchy of Austria by the Hungarians ; the grave danger of Turkish aggression in the East.

II. The Accession of Maximilian I, 1493.

Conditions had improved by the accession of Maximilian. He had obtained the Netherlands and the County of Burgundy owing to his marriage with Mary, daughter of Charles the Bold, in 1477. In 1491 the Hungarians were expelled from Vienna and the reversion of Hungary and Bohemia was assured to the Hapsburgs on the failure of the male line of Ladislaus of Bohemia. But these were successes of the family of Hapsburg, not of Germany.

III. Attempts at Reform.

The leader of the reform party was Count Berthold of Henneberg, who became Archbishop and Elector of Mainz in 1484. His object was to make Germany into a united, national state, and he tried to gain his object by enforcing Public Peace, by establishing on national lines a central Court of Justice, a fair method of taxation, an administrative system of Circles under the control of a General Council. Berthold was supported by the Electors who favoured the federative organisation of Germany.

Maximilian opposed proposals which would limit his prerogative ; his schemes of foreign intervention and his desire to consolidate the power of the Hapsburgs prevented him from concentrating his attention solely on the problems of Germany, and his chronic need of money to finance his grandiose foreign policy compelled

him to make concessions to the reforming party in order to secure grants. The local interests of the knights and cities were threatened by Berthold's plans, although the latter welcomed any measures which would establish public peace.

A. The Diet of Worms, 1495.

(1) An Imperial Chamber.

Berthold proposed the establishment of a permanent Imperial Chamber to sanction the acts of the King, including the declaration of war. An Imperial Chamber was established to form a Court of Appeal in which the Emperor nominated the President, the Diet the sixteen Assessors, but Maximilian refused to agree to Berthold's demand for a Council of Regency controlling the administration.

(2) The Common Penny.

The "Common Penny," a property tax on the rich and a poll tax on the poor, was granted to Maximilian to enable him to take an active part in the League of Venice.¹

(3) Public Peace.

A Public Peace was proclaimed and private war forbidden.

(4) The Diet.

The Diet was to meet annually.

The failure of Berthold to secure control of the administration impaired the good work of the Diet; the Swiss refused to pay the Common Penny.

B. The Diet of Augsburg, 1500.

The defeat of Maximilian by the Florentines at Leghorn in 1498,² and the capture of Milan by the French in 1500,³ threw Maximilian into the power of

¹ Page 21.

² Page 29.

³ Page 36.

the German political reformers. At the Diet of Augsburg Berthold secured—

- (1) A Council of Regency, representing the three Estates, to supervise administration.
- (2) The establishment of six Circles (Franconia, Bavaria, Swabia, the Upper Rhine, Westphalia and Lower Saxony).
- (3) A levy of an army of 34,000 men. Every four hundred householders were to supply one foot soldier to the Emperor; the nobles were to supply cavalry; religious orders and imperial towns were to contribute money.

The Diet of Augsburg was a great triumph for Berthold. Control of the administration seemed to be secured; government depended on the Estates; the Common Penny, a very unpopular tax and most difficult to assess, was abolished in favour of the military levy.

But the Council of Regency soon came to an end. Maximilian strongly resented the weakening of his authority; the Knights and cities were not inclined to support a national system; the Princes were incapable of putting the new constitution into effect.

C. Maximilian's Success.

- (1) The Aulic Council, 1502.

Maximilian, finding that in spite of his concessions he received but little advantage from the new constitution, resolved to "act as an Austrian prince" and rely on his own resources. He refused to attend Diets, gradually won over many of the lesser nobles, who resented the domination of the Electors which Berthold's schemes tended to establish. In opposition to the Council of Regency he set up an Aulic Council (Hofrath) appointed by the King to deal with all business "that can flow in from the Empire, Christendom at large, or the King's hereditary princi-

palities," and exercising supreme administrative and judicial power.

(2) Gelnhausen, 1502.

June, 1502. The Electors met at Gelnhausen, resolved to resist the new policy of the Emperor, negotiated with Louis XII and considered the advisability of dethroning Maximilian.

(3) The Landshut Succession, 1504.

Maximilian intervened in a dispute that arose in regard to Landshut; he successfully supported the two Dukes of Bavaria against Rupert, son of the Elector Palatine, Frederick the Victorious,¹ and secured for himself a portion of the disputed territory. The defeat of the Elector Palatine, a strong supporter of reform, was a great success for Maximilian.

(4) 1504. Death of Berthold of Mainz.

Maximilian's position was further strengthened by the Treaty of Blois,² 1504, the accession of his daughter-in-law Joanna to the throne of Castile.³ Frederick the Wise of Saxony was the only one of the constitutional party who retained any power and he was unwilling to take the lead. The Venetian ambassador informed the Signory that Maximilian had become a true Emperor over his Empire.

(5) The Matricula, 1507.

By the Matricula the money required for military purposes was raised by a territorial levy on the separate states. Thus "the matricula ignored the union of the Empire and the obligation of the individual subject, which had been emphasised by the Common Penny."⁴

¹ His enemies called him Frederick the Wicked.

² Page 51.

³ Page 95.

⁴ *Cambridge Modern History*, Vol. I, page 317.

D. The results of the struggle for Reform.

The Imperial Chamber, the Aulic Council, the Circles (increased to ten by the addition of the Lower Rhine, Upper Saxony, Austria and Burgundy at the Diet of Cologne, **1512**), and the matricula proved permanent. But they did not provide a bond of national union, and the attempts of Berthold of Mainz and the Emperor to form a united and effective government proved failures. Germany was soon to be split up and "the stronger Princes became civilised rulers of modern states." But the national idea survived and exercised a powerful influence over the German Renaissance and German Reformation.

IV. Maximilian and the Empire.**A. The Electors.**

Maximilian was anxious to humiliate the Electors, some of whom had taken a leading part in the reform movement to which he was bitterly opposed. He took Landshut from the Elector Palatine; Berg, Jülich and the guardianship of Philip, the young Landgrave of Hesse, from the Elector of Saxony; although he approved of the election of Albert of Brandenburg as Grand Master of the Teutonic Order he confirmed the Peace of Thorn¹ of **1466**, which gave West Prussia to Poland.

B. The Peace of the Empire.

Although the proclamation of Public Peace had had a good effect the Empire was troubled by internal warfare.

(1) The Peasants.

Risings took place under the Bundschuh in Alsace in **1493** and **1502**; in the Black Forest in **1512** under Joss Fritz; in Würtemberg, to resist the tyranny of Duke Ulrich, in **1514**.

¹ *Notes on European History*, Part I, page 354.

THE EMPEROR MAXIMILIAN, 1498-1519 115

(2) The Imperial Knights.

The turbulence of the Knights disturbed the country, and Franz von Sickingen waged a long war against Worms.

(3) The Swabian League.

The Swabian League, a confederation of princes, nobles and cities, had been formed in 1487. It had assisted Maximilian in the Swiss War of 1499. Jealousy arose owing to the growing power of the magnates, and in 1512 Ulrich, Duke of Würtemberg, and his allies were excluded, and a counter league, including Frederick the Wise of Saxony, was set up. The feud between Ulrich and the Swabian League led to warfare in the south-west of Germany, and in 1519 Ulrich was driven out of Würtemberg.

C. Maximilian's International Schemes.

Maximilian was anxious to restore the Imperial authority over Northern Italy, to regain Milan and to humble Venice. He therefore took an active and conspicuously unsuccessful share in the League of Venice, 1495,¹ the League of Cambray, 1508,² and the Holy League, 1511.³ The need of money to prosecute his schemes weakened his opposition to constitutional reform in Germany; his shifty and fruitless diplomacy and the military incompetence he displayed greatly weakened his personal influence.

D. The Loss of Switzerland, 1499.

The Swiss had so strengthened their position by defeating Charles the Bold at Nancy⁴ that the Emperor Frederick III and Sigismund of Tyrol had turned against them; jealousy broke out between the Swiss and the Swabian League; the attempt of the Reforming Party to compel the Swiss to accept the jurisdiction of the

¹ Page 21.

² Page 51.

³ Page 59.

⁴ *Notes on European History*, Part I, page 540.

Imperial Chamber, established in 1495, had roused opposition; the Swiss refused to pay the Common Penny. On the death of Sigismund, in 1496, Maximilian had succeeded to the Tyrol, and the Swiss made an alliance with the discontented Tyrolese. War broke out owing to the occupation of the Münsterthal by Maximilian's forces.

Maximilian and the Swabian League were assisted by Louis XII but were defeated.

1499. The Peace of Basle.

The Peace of Basle made Switzerland practically independent of the Empire, although a vague connection continued until the Peace of Westphalia, 1648.

E. The Imperial Crown.

Maximilian had been elected King of the Romans in 1486, during Frederick III's lifetime. In 1508, with the Pope's consent, he took the title of "Roman Emperor Elect," but was generally addressed as "Emperor." He thus showed that coronation by the Pope was no longer regarded as necessary for the Emperor, and Charles V, crowned by Pope Clement VII at Bologna in 1530, was the last Emperor crowned by a Pope.

F. General.

The reign of Maximilian revealed the weakness of the Empire. The German princes, nominally subject to him, enjoyed a large measure of independence, and when united became his masters. "Instead of a monarchy Germany had become a federation of almost autonomous and independent states, while Italy had passed out of the Imperial system and France and Spain had become Italian powers."¹

But the Empire remained the highest secular dignity in the world, and became more powerful because the

¹ Dr. Hill.

Hapsburg dominions, which Maximilian had consolidated, proved strong enough to maintain the Imperial position which became practically hereditary in the Hapsburg family. Under Charles V the motto A.E.I.O.U.¹ became almost a statement of fact.

V. Maximilian as Hapsburg Prince.

Maximilian's policy was dynastic rather than Imperial, and as head of the House of Hapsburg he gained considerable success.

A. Marriages.

1477. Marriage of Maximilian to Mary of Burgundy.

1496. Marriage of Maximilian's son Philip to Joanna, daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella.

1515. Betrothal of Maximilian's granddaughter Mary to Lewis, son of Ladislaus, King of Poland, Bohemia and Hungary. **1516,** Lewis succeeded his father.

Betrothal of Maximilian's grandson Ferdinand to Anne, daughter of Ladislaus; they were to obtain Hungary and Bohemia if Lewis died childless. **1527,** Ferdinand became King of Hungary and Bohemia.

The success of the Hapsburg marriages was proverbial.

"Bella gerant alii, tu felix Austria nube."

B. Territory.

During Maximilian's reign Austria was regained; the death of Sigismund, the head of the younger Hapsburg line, in **1496,** gave the Tyrol and Alsace to Maximilian; in a few years Bohemia and Hungary were to become possessions of the Hapsburgs.

The Hapsburg dominions became the foundation of the Empire.

¹ Alles erdreich ist Oesterreich unterthan, or, *Austriæ est imperare orbi universo.*

VI. General.

A. An amateur in politics.

His unscrupulous but ineffective diplomacy, his failure to carry out his plans in Italy or to establish a strong central government in Germany, justify the assertion that he was "an amateur in politics," although Bishop Stubbs attaches great importance to the success of his Hapsburg policy.¹

B. An unsuccessful general.

Maximilian was repeatedly defeated by his opponents and was as unsuccessful in warfare as in diplomacy.

But he was a competent military organiser. He discarded the heavy armour German foot soldiers had formerly worn, and the heavy shields they had carried, and armed them with long spears. He thus made the mobile German Landsknecht a most effective infantry force.

C. Maximilian's versatility and popularity.

He was a man of remarkably wide attainments. He spoke seven languages; he was a great authority on manly sports, artillery and fortification; he had a good knowledge of theology, art and literature; he was a patron of the Renaissance and was the author of *Teuerdank*, an epic of knighthood.

His many interests, genial kindliness, wide sympathy and charming manners gained for him great popularity among all classes.

D. His weakness.

- (1) But his great ability was rendered ineffective by his levity and lack of steady purpose. He had too many irons in the fire and turned too readily from one scheme to another; he would quit the most important business for a hunting-party; he undertook much and completed few of his undertakings.

¹ *Lectures on European History*, page 40.

- (2) He was too ambitious and his ambition led him into financial difficulties which hampered his plans. Maximilian, "the man of few pence," was at a great disadvantage in competing with his wealthy rivals. In 1518 Jacob Fugger lent him three thousand florins "without which His Majesty would literally have had nothing to eat."
- (3) He was too self-confident; for carrying out his schemes he relied, not upon the powerful Princes of the Empire whom he distrusted, but on men of humble origin dependent on himself, such as Mathias Lang who became Bishop of Gurk, Archbishop of Salzburg and Cardinal. Many of his servants proved unworthy of his confidence. "His counsellors were rich and he was poor."

January, 1519. Death of Maximilian.

References :

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Holy Roman Empire (Bryce). Chap. xvii.

THE ELECTION OF CHARLES V

The task of filling the vacancy in the Empire caused by the death of Maximilian in 1519 was difficult.

I. The Candidates.

A. The Archduke Charles.

Charles, the grandson and heir of Maximilian, was the head of the Hapsburg family which had supplied five Emperors. Although he held the Netherlands and Aragon and Naples and ruled jointly with his mother in

Castile, his possession of Alsace, the Tyrol and Austria, the bulwark of Germany against the Turks, made him a German prince. At the Diet of Augsburg in 1518 the Electors of Mainz, Cologne, Bohemia, Brandenburg and the Palatinate had promised Maximilian to elect Charles.

But Charles was only nineteen years of age; his personality was not impressive; his vast dominions would prevent him giving his whole attention to Germany and might supply him with the means to make himself absolute in Germany; the irritation caused by Maximilian's opposition to constitutional reform still continued; Charles did not speak German.

B. Francis I.

His victory at Marignano¹ had gained for Francis I a military reputation he did not deserve and strengthened his determination to secure the Empire; he promised, if elected, to lead a Crusade against Constantinople. By January, 1518, he had received a definite promise from four Electors, Trèves, Mainz, Brandenburg and the Palatine, that they would vote for him on the death of Maximilian. He secured promises of support from powerful princes who were not electors, including the Dukes of Lorraine, Bouillon and Guelders, and the Bishop of Liège, and also from Franz von Sickingen.

C. Henry VIII.

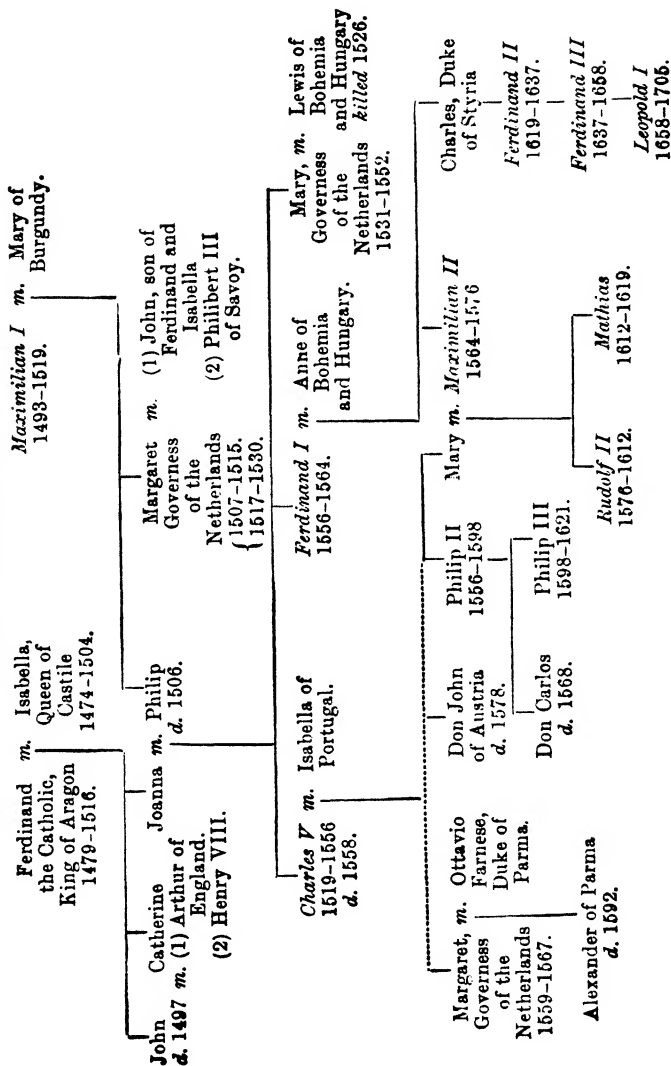
Henry VIII's candidature was not a serious matter. He may have hoped for success on the ground that the Electors feared that either Francis or Charles would be too powerful if they secured the prestige that the Empire still conferred.

D. Frederick of Saxony.

Some Germans favoured the election of one of the other German princes, especially Frederick of Saxony, but he refused to become a candidate.

¹ Page 69.

THE HAPSBURGS.



II. Negotiations.

A. Leo X.

Leo X at first supported Francis I, partly because the safety of the Medici in Florence depended upon the friendship of the French, who held Milan; partly because the union of the Empire and Naples was contrary to the interests and policy of the Papacy.

But the acquisition of the Empire by either Francis or Charles might upset the unstable political equilibrium of Italy, and the Pope's Legate, Cajetan, was ordered to urge the Electors to choose either Frederick of Saxony or Joachim of Brandenburg. When he saw that this plan would not succeed Leo urged Henry VIII to press on his candidature.

His fear of the election of Charles led Leo to offer a cardinal's hat to the Electors of Trèves and Cologne if they would oppose Charles, but, finding further opposition useless, and, as he said, seeing "it was useless to run his head against a brick wall," he came to terms with Charles and agreed that he should hold the Empire and Naples.

The election "disclosed unmistakably the practical impotence of the Papacy in European politics."¹

B. Bribery.

All parties offered lavish bribes. Francis declared he would "spend three millions of gold" to get the Empire, but at the critical moment failed to get credit, and the greedy Elector of Mainz, distrusting the security Francis offered, accepted from Charles a bribe of 72,000 florins,² and refused one of 120,000 from Francis. The Fuggers, the merchant princes of Augsburg, lent Charles 500,000 florins. Some Electors accepted bribes from both parties; Frederick of Saxony refused 30,000 florins offered by Charles and said he would dismiss any of his servants who accepted bribes. "The next day he took

¹ Creighton.

² Some authorities say 100,000.

horse and departed, lest they should continue to bother him."¹

C. The voice of Germany.

Strong feeling arose in Germany in favour of Charles. In the north the Duke of Brunswick was ready to fight for him ; the Swabian League declared for him and sent an army of 20,000 men, under Franz von Sickingen, to intimidate the Electors by occupying the roads to Frankfort ; the Renaissance scholars and even the Swiss, under Mathias Schinner, Cardinal of Sion, also supported Charles.

The German princes wanted a nominal rather than a real ruler. Charles was very young, his vast territories were so scattered that he would find it impossible to concentrate his forces ; he was reputed to be of no great intelligence. To the princes Francis I seemed more likely to become a strong Emperor ; it was to their interest to keep the Empire weak.

At a meeting of the Electors at Augsburg in August, **1518**, five of the Electors promised Maximilian to support Charles, only the Archbishop of Trèves remained faithful to Francis.

But on the death of Maximilian a number of the Electors again changed sides, and Charles' chance of election seemed so slight that his aunt Margaret of Austria, the Governess of the Netherlands, advised him to withdraw in favour of his brother Ferdinand, but he refused.

D. The Election.

The election took place at Frankfurt on June 28th, **1519**. The Imperial crown was offered to Frederick of Saxony who declined it and urged the Electors to choose Charles. The support of Albert of Brandenburg, Archbishop of Mainz, carried great weight ; Lewis, King of Bohemia and Hungary, voted for his prospective

¹ Letter from Erasmus, quoted in Seebohm's *Era of the Protestant Revolution*, page 101.

brother-in-law Charles,¹ who was elected unanimously. His election cost Charles 850,000 florins, and Pace, Henry VIII's agent, declared it was "the dearest merchandise which ever was bought." He returned from Spain and was crowned at Aachen on October 23rd, 1520.

E. The Capitulations.

Charles was compelled to agree to the Capitulations, which show the determination of the Electors to save Germany from foreign domination. They provided that the official language of the Empire should be German or Latin, that Germany should not be administered by foreign officials, that papal claims contrary to those allowed in 1418 after the Council of Constance should be abrogated, that Charles should appoint a Council to assist in the government.

References :

Europe in the Sixteenth Century (Johnson), Rivingtons, pp. 128-136.

The History of the Papacy (Creighton), Vol. V, chap. iv.

A History of European Diplomacy (D. J. Hill), Longmans, Vol. II, chap. v, section I.

¹ Lewis married Charles' sister Mary in December, 1521.

SECTION IV

HAPSBURG AND VALOIS, 1521–1559

**FROM THE BEGINNING OF WAR
TO THE PEACE OF CATEAU-CAMBRÉSIS**

FROM THE OUTBREAK OF WAR TO THE PEACE OF CAMBRAY, 1521-1529

I. The Rivalry of Hapsburg and Valois.

A. The nature of the struggle.

To some extent Charles V, the descendant of the Dukes of Burgundy, may be said to have inherited the Burgundian enmity towards France. But the rivalry of Hapsburg and Valois was a far wider problem than the old struggle between the Orleanists and Burgundians. It involved the questions of supremacy in Italy and of the leadership of Western Europe ; the safety of France, which was nearly surrounded by Hapsburg possessions ; the maintenance of outlying dominions of the Hapsburgs, and especially of Navarre and Luxemburg. It affected the development of the Reformation and had an important bearing on the danger of Turkish aggression. It was closely connected with the Papacy. War, in any case inevitable, became imminent partly owing to the personal resentment of Francis I at the election of Charles V as Emperor.

B. The strength of the two rivals.

The two rivals were fairly well matched. Charles had Castile, Aragon, the two Sicilies, the Netherlands, Franche-Comté. But his dominions were scattered and divided by differences of race, tradition, government and language. Charles drew a large revenue and effective troops from Spain and the Netherlands, and was to derive advantage from the good training given to the Landsknechte by Maximilian.

Francis' dominions, which included Milan, were less

extensive but more compact, and occupied the inner lines of communication. His authority was absolute over Church and State in France. France was rich, and a well-organised financial system enabled Francis to raise large sums of money when necessary.

II. The Difficulties of Charles.

A. Germany.

(1) Constitutional Reformers.

The Electors of the Palatinate, Cologne, Mainz and Trèves had formed the Electoral Union of the Rhine for common defence immediately after the death of Maximilian, and the cause of constitutional reform was strengthened by the Capitulations.¹ Charles was compelled to agree, in 1521, to the establishment of a Council of Regency, in which he secured the nomination of the President and two out of twenty-two assessors; and to the reorganisation of the Imperial Chamber in which the Emperor retained similar powers of nomination. These two bodies were to govern Germany in the absence of Charles.

(2) Ulrich of Würtemberg.

1519. Charles put Duke Ulrich to the ban of the Empire, seized Würtemberg and gave it to his brother Ferdinand.

(3) Luther.

Luther had now challenged the authority of the Pope and the doctrine of the Church and had secured a large measure of support in Germany. If Charles supported Luther he would lose the support of the Pope, if he opposed Luther he would have to face grave discontent, if not rebellion, in Germany.

January, 1521. Diet of Worms (page 183).

¹ Page 124.

B. Spain.

(1) Anti-Imperial feeling.

The Spaniards were most unwilling for Charles to leave Spain for Germany, and resented the heavy payments Spain would have to make to support the Empire.

(2) The Comuneros.

Charles left Spain on May 19th, **1520**, and a rising of the towns of Castile, led by Toledo, at once broke out. A Junta, or rebel government, was set up which professed to act in the name of the imbecile Queen Joanna, and demanded the reduction of taxes, the withdrawal of the privileges of the nobles; the resumption of crown lands and triennial meeting of the Cortes.

But Castile alone rose, the nobles took up arms against the Comuneros whose party was weakened by internal jealousy and incapable leaders, the influence of the monarchy was very strong.

April, **1521**. Utter rout of the Comuneros at Villalar.

The Crown became absolute over Church and State, the Inquisition proved a most powerful support of royal power, the nobles lost all influence, and during the reign of Charles the history of Spain consists largely of the money and men she contributed to the Imperial cause.

C. England.

Wolsey was anxious to maintain peace and to hold the Balance of Power. Charles, realising the importance of securing help from England if possible, went from Spain to England, where he interviewed Henry VIII at Sandwich; after Francis I had met Henry on the Field of Cloth of Gold at Guisnes in June, **1520**, Charles met Henry at Gravelines in July, where he secured, if not a definite alliance, at least an assurance that Henry would not help Francis.

In view of these difficulties and the bad state of his finances Charles was anxious to maintain peace for a time ; Chièvres strongly advocated peace. But war was inevitable. Francis knew that, as Emperor, Charles V had a claim on Milan, and felt sure that he would use his new authority to support that claim. Charles, as a German prince, was bound to resist any attempt of Francis to interfere in the affairs of Germany.

D. Leo X.

Leo was undecided, and it was doubtful whether he would fulfil the promise he had made to help Francis or transfer his support to Charles. He was anxious to increase his temporal power in Italy, and a war between Francis and Charles would help him more easily to accomplish his aim.

III. The First War, 1521-1523.

Chièvres died in May, 1521.

A. 1521.

(1) French aggression.

a. Robert de la Mark, Lord of Bouillon, invaded Luxemburg in March, 1521, but retreated before the Imperial forces.

b. By the Peace of Noyon¹ Charles had promised to restore Jean d'Albret to Navarre. He had failed to do this. Henri d'Albret, Jean's heir, supported by Francis, invaded Navarre, but was driven out in July, 1521.

Thus war had broken out between Francis and Charles.

(2) Pope Leo X.

The Pope had made a treaty with Francis against Charles, but on May 25th, 1521, Leo, gratified by the condemnation of Luther at the Diet of Worms, made

¹ Page 71.

a treaty with Charles who undertook to protect the Medici in Florence, restore the Adorni to Genoa and Francesco Sforza to Milan, and to give Parma, Piacenza and Ferrara to the Papacy, to extirpate heresy in Germany. Thus Charles gained protection for Naples on the north and access to Lombardy from the south.

(3) The Treaty of Bruges.

November, **1521**. Wolsey made with Charles V the Treaty of Bruges and agreed that Charles should marry Mary of England and that Henry VIII and Charles should invade France.

Wolsey had tried to adopt a neutral attitude and to reconcile Charles and Francis. But his attempt was doomed to failure because war was inevitable. By the Treaty of Bruges the alliance between Flanders and England was re-established and the treaty was popular in England, for Flanders was the chief market for English wool.

Thus Charles protected the Netherlands from an attack on the north.

(4) Imperial successes.

November 19th, **1521**. Lautrec was forced to evacuate the town, not the citadel, of Milan. Parma and Piacenza submitted.

[**1521**. The Turks capture Belgrade.]

B. 1522.

(1) Pope Adrian VI.

December 1st, **1521**. Leo X died.

Adrian of Utrecht, formerly co-regent with Ximenes¹ and tutor of Charles, was elected, greatly to the disappointment of Wolsey. Charles expected active support from the new Pope, but Adrian VI aimed at freeing the Papacy from political entanglements, crushing heresy by the Inquisition, reconciling

¹ Page 96.

Francis and Charles, and inducing them to unite against the Turks who were overrunning Hungary and threatening Rhodes.

(2) The Battle of the Bicocca.

Adrian's neutrality improved the position of Francis, but on April 27th, 1522, Lautrec, forced to fight by his insubordinate Swiss soldiers, was routed on the Bicocca by Colonna and Francesco Sforza. The French evacuated the Milanese, though retaining the citadel of Milan; Genoa was taken on May 30th, and Antonio Adorno, a supporter of Charles, made Doge in place of Ottavio Fregoso the ally of Francis; Francesco Sforza became Duke of Milan; the authority of the Medici, imperilled by the temporary revival of the French, was restored in Florence.

(3) The Treaty of Windsor.

June, 1522. Henry and Charles agreed on a joint invasion of France. Wolsey held that Francis must be defeated because he was the cause of the divisions of Western Christendom: "The real Turk is he with whom we are occupied."

The Duke of Albany, a strong supporter of Francis I, returned to Scotland and assumed the government, but his invasion of England failed and he went back to France in October, 1522.

July-October, 1522. Failure of an English raid on Northern France.

[December, 1522. Partly owing to lack of aid from Western Europe, Rhodes capitulated to the Turks.]

C. 1523.

Charles of Bourbon, in resentment at the confiscation of his property by Francis,¹ and hoping to re-establish the old kingdom of Arles, made an alliance with Charles V, anxious to secure the Duchy of Burgundy, and

¹ Page 89.

Henry VIII, who wished to regain the old English possessions and to get the crown of France. This was a plan for the dismemberment of France. Joint invasion of France by the English, who crossed the Somme and captured Mondidier, the Germans, who wanted the east of France, and the Spaniards, who threatened Bayonne.

Failure of the expedition, France escaped partition, but was completely isolated as Venice and Pope Adrian VI now joined Charles.

IV. The Second War, 1523-1526.

A. The Battle of Pavia.

(1) Bonnivet.

1523. Francis I, kept at home by the invasion of France, sent Bonnivet to oppose Colonna in Lombardy. Bonnivet failed to take Milan. Charles de Lannoy, Governor of Naples, succeeded Colonna.

April, **1524.** Lannoy defeated Bonnivet on the Sesia, where Bayard fell, and drove him out of Italy.

(2) Marseilles.

September, **1524.** Failure of Bourbon's attack on Marseilles.

[**1524.** Peasants' revolt. Diet of Nüremberg.]

(3) The Battle of Pavia, February 24th, 1525.

Francis I, wishing to avenge the defeat of Bonnivet and the siege of Marseilles, pursued Bourbon into Italy, and, on October 29th, **1524**, entered Milan. He foolishly attacked Pavia, held by Antonio de Leyva, instead of pursuing the Imperial army which had evacuated Milan.

Pope Clement VII (Giulio de' Medici), thinking that Francis had established his power, made a treaty with him in December, **1524**, and Florence and Venice also joined Francis. Charles' position seemed hopeless; he was ill in Spain, the Peasants' War was raging in Germany, he had not money to pay his

troops, Henry VIII was wavering and was inclined to come to terms with France, Francis was strengthened by Swiss reinforcements and the active help of Giovanni de' Medici.

January, 1525. Francis sent a large part of his army under Albany to attack Naples, hoping that the Imperial generals would leave Lombardy to defend Naples.

But Naples was left to its fate ; Bourbon raised strong reinforcements in Germany ; reinforcements coming to the help of Francis were cut off.

Francis was strongly encamped outside Pavia ; he was attacked on February 24th, 1525. by Lannoy and unwisely left his camp to meet the Imperialists. Pescara's Spanish arquebusiers routed the Swiss pikemen, thus showing the superiority of fire-arms over pikes ; an unfortunate movement of some of his troops masked Francis' artillery ; a timely sally of de Leyva from Pavia broke the French rear. Francis was utterly routed and captured, but he did *not* write to his mother, Louise of Savoy, that " all is lost save honour " ; a very large number of French nobles fell, including Bonnivet, La Palice and La Tremouille. Albany, who was near Rome, deserted his army and escaped by sea to Marseilles with his artillery.

" The battle is fought and the King is your prisoner " was the message sent to Charles in Spain.

B. The Treaty of Madrid, January 14th, 1526.

Charles V wished to take full advantage of his opportunity and to crush France. But his victory had been too complete and had made him so strong that his allies feared his power. Henry VIII made a treaty with Louise of Savoy, Regent of France ; the French endeavoured to induce the Turks to attack Hungary ; Clement VII and the Italians made a league with France. Pescara died in December, urging Charles to make peace with Francis.

By the Treaty of Madrid Francis agreed

- a. To renounce all claims on Milan, Naples, Genoa, the suzerainty of Flanders, Artois and Tournay.
- b. To surrender to Charles the Duchy of Burgundy
- c. To restore Bourbon to his possessions and to surrender the claims of d'Albret on Navarre, to give no more support to the Duke of Guelders against the Netherlands.

Dean Kitchin says, "The Treaty of Madrid ceded to Charles more than he ought to have felt it safe to accept,"¹ but others regard the terms of the treaty as moderate. Charles considered that he had a right to the land Francis ceded; he did not attempt to carry out the plan for the dismemberment of France which he had recently made with Henry VIII and Bourbon; he would not have secured the permanent friendship of Francis by offering more liberal terms. Francis was released and at once, on Wolsey's advice, obtained from Clement VII absolution from his oath—which he never intended to keep.

V. Third War, 1526-1529.

A. The League of Cognac, May 22nd, 1526.

(1) Formation.

The fear caused by the imperialist victory at Pavia led to an attempt to redress the Balance of Power by the League of Cognac. Francis, who had been liberated on March 17th, 1526, left his two little sons as hostages in Spain, repudiated the Treaty of Madrid and joined Francesco Sforza, Pope Clement VII, Florence and Venice in the League of Cognac, May 22nd, 1526. Henry VIII gave his "protection," but was not a member of the League.

¹ *History of France*, Vol. II, page 206.

(2) Objects.

Sforza was to get the Duchy of Milan, the Italian states to get back their former possessions, Charles was to be compelled to release the French princes for 2,000,000 crowns.

Charles considered that the adhesion of Henry VIII to the League released him from his contract to marry Mary of England, and he married Isabella of Portugal in March, 1526.

[June, 1526. Diet of Spires.]

B. Milan.

But Francis was too much engaged in pleasure to take an active part in the war ; Wolsey, partly because he was anxious to secure the goodwill of Charles, persuaded Henry to renounce his " protection " of the League.

De Leyva vigorously attacked Sforza in the citadel of Milan ; the Duke of Urbino, possibly unwilling to increase the power of the Pope, proved dilatory ; the opportune arrival of Bourbon strengthened the Imperialists and Milan surrendered July 25th, 1526.

[August 28th, 1526. Suleiman defeated and killed Lewis of Hungary at Mohacz and took Buda on September 10th.]

C. The Sack of Rome, May, 1527.

The powerful family of Colonna now took the side of Charles and captured Rome. Pope Clement VII took refuge in the Castle of St. Angelo, and on September 21st promised to evacuate Lombardy and to pardon the Colonna. But the capture of Cremona by the Duke of Urbino on September 23rd led him to break his word and declare war on the Colonna. Charles profited by the further inaction of the Duke of Urbino to win over the Duke of Ferrara, to secure reinforcements, largely Lutheran, from Germany, under Frundsberg, to send 6000 Spanish troops to Italy.

Frundsberg united forces with Bourbon and intended to attack Florence, but found it protected by the Duke of Urbino and marched south. Clement made a truce with the enemy on March 15th, but Bourbon (now in sole command owing to Frundsberg's illness) was compelled to advance on Rome by his turbulent troops.

May 6th, 1527. Rome taken by storm from the north, Bourbon fell in the assault. The Colonna broke in on the south. The victors plundered Rome for eight days; "the Spaniards excelled in cruelty, the Lutherans in blasphemy and sacrilege"¹; 4000 Romans perished in the sack of the city. "What Goths," wrote a contemporary, "what Vandals, what Turks were ever like this army of the Emperor in the sacrilege they have committed?" The Pope held out in the Castle of St. Angelo, but submitted on June 7th, promising to surrender Ostia, Civita Vecchia, which the Imperialists obtained, Piacenza and Modena, which the Imperialists did not obtain, and to pay 400,000 ducats. The Medici were driven from Florence; the Duke of Ferrara seized Modena; the Venetians, although the allies of the Pope, took Ravenna.

The Sack of Rome was due mainly to the fact that Bourbon's soldiers got out of hand; it was partly due to the perfidy of Clement VII in breaking his treaty with the Colonna. It is doubtful how far Charles, who had disclaimed responsibility for the capture of Rome by the Colonna, was directly responsible for the Sack of Rome. There is no doubt that he approved of the advance of Bourbon and the use of force against the Pope, and he must therefore share the responsibility.

The Sack of Rome "may well be said to close the period of the greatness of Italy,"² the Pope and the Papacy were utterly broken. Charles appeared now to have "an opportunity to confine the Papacy to its spiritual functions, reform the Church by an Œcumenical Council, and restore the Empire by making

¹ Johnson.

² *Ibid.*

Rome once more its capital and Italy the seat of its authority." But events soon showed that, as at Pavia, Charles had been too successful.

D. French intervention in Italy, 1527-1529.

Meanwhile Francis and Henry VIII had become friendly, and on August 4th, 1527, made an alliance at Amiens. Henry, now seeking a divorce from Catherine of Aragon, was anxious to take the Pope out of the power of Charles V, Catherine's nephew, and promised to meet part of the cost of a French campaign in Italy. Francis, who resented Charles' success, prepared to invade Lombardy and Naples. To strengthen his position Francis opened negotiations with the Turks in 1527 and received commercial concessions from Suleiman in Egypt in 1528.

(1) Lombardy, 1527.

July-November, 1527. Lautrec took Pavia; restored Sforza to the Milanese (although the city of Milan held out under De Leyva); restored, with the help of the famous Genoese sea-captain Andrea Doria, the Fregosi, the French party in Genoa and drove out the Adorni.

(2) Naples, 1528.

Lautrec, who had marched south to release the Pope, found that Clement had escaped on December 6th, 1527, and advanced into Apulia. The imperialist troops therefore evacuated Rome on February 17th, 1528, to protect Naples, the viceroy of which, Lannoy, had recently died of plague. Naples now was blockaded by Lautrec from the land, and Andrea Doria's nephew Philippino, with Genoese and Venetian vessels, from the sea.

But Francis I quarrelled with Andrea Doria, who went over to the side of Charles and (July 4th) withdrew the Genoese fleet from Naples which was now able to get supplies by sea.

The French besieging army was weakened by plague, of which Lautrec died on August 16th. On August 28th the French retired to Aversa, soon capitulated to the Prince of Orange and evacuated Naples.

(3) Genoa, 1528.

September, 1528. Doria drove the French out of Genoa and established a government which lasted until 1796 and gave the city internal peace.

(4) The Battle of Landriano, June 20th, 1529.

Leyva still held out in Milan ; the French, under St. Pol, had captured Pavia ; in 1529 St. Pol joined with the Duke of Urbino to surround Milan, but, while attempting to recover Genoa, was routed by Leyva at Landriano on June 20th.

E. The Treaty of Barcelona, July 29th, 1529.

Although the French held Alessandria, and Sforza held Pavia, Lodi and Cremona, the League was weakened by the failure of England to give active support, and broken by the reconciliation of Clement VII and Charles V.

Clement wished to restore the Medici to Florence and to regain for the Papacy the possessions it had lost. Lutheranism was making great strides in Germany, and its progress had been helped by the Pope's share in the League against Charles ; the Pope was anxious to secure the help of Charles against Luther. Charles needed the Pope, whose opposition hampered him in Germany and Spain as well as Italy.

June 29th, 1529. By the Treaty of Barcelona Clement and Charles agreed—

- (1) That Sforza should be restored to Milan and the Medici to Florence.
- (2) Clement undertook to recognise Charles, who had privately promised the Pope not to summon a General Council, as King of Naples and to crown him Emperor.

- (3) Portions of the Papal States taken by the Duke of Ferrara and Venice to be restored.
- (4) The Pope and Emperor to combine against the Turks and Luther.

July 16th, 1529, Clement, at the request of Charles V, cited to Rome the divorce case of Henry VIII, and thus led to the repudiation of Papal Supremacy in England in 1534.

F. The Peace of Cambray, August 3rd, 1529.

Both Francis and Charles were anxious for peace. Francis had lost two armies in Italy and had no money to raise a third; the health of his two sons, who were hostages in Spain, was bad and he wished to get them home. Charles wished to consolidate his conquests which had exhausted his finances and to be free to resist Luther and the Turks, whose victory at Mohacz in 1526 had given them the greater part of Hungary.

Charles had accused Francis of ill-faith in breaking the Treaty of Madrid¹; Francis declared that Charles "lied in his throat" and challenged him to a duel. Charles had accepted the challenge. In the circumstances direct negotiations between the two had become impossible, so Margaret of Austria, Governess of the Netherlands, and Francis' mother, Louise of Savoy, arranged the terms of the Peace of Cambray, "the Women's Peace," August 3rd, 1529. By this Treaty

- (1) Francis renounced all claims on Italy, Flanders and Artois, and abandoned his allies Robert de la Mark of Bouillon, the Duke of Guelders and the Venetians.
- (2) Charles agreed not to press his claim to the Duchy of Burgundy and released Philip's sons, Francis the Dauphin,² and Henry, Duke of Orleans,³ who had been hostages in Spain since the Treaty of Madrid, for 2,000,000 gold crowns.

¹ Page 134.

² Died 1536.

³ Became Henry II in 1547.

[September 21st to October 14th, **1529**, Suleiman unsuccessfully besieged Vienna.]

Charles was thus left free to carry out his plans in Italy and Germany; France and the Pope were friendly; England for a time had lost influence.

G. The Settlement of Italy.

Charles was now master of Italy. Francesco Sforza was restored to the Duchy of Milan, but Monza was given to Leyva and Charles kept the citadels of Milan and Como; Venice was compelled to restore Ravenna to the Pope; Florence, after a siege of ten months, was obliged, in October, **1530**, to accept as Duke, Alessandro de' Medici, who married Charles V's illegitimate daughter Margaret; Malta and Tripoli were given to the Knights of St. John.

February 23rd, **1530**. Charles crowned King of Lombardy and Emperor by Pope Clement VII at Bologna. This was the last instance in which an Emperor was crowned by a Pope in Italy.

VI. General.

The war promoted Turkish aggression, for neither Francis nor Charles could spare troops to resist Suleiman, and was one of the contributory causes of the capture of Rhodes, **1522**, the battle of Mohacz, **1526**, and the siege of Vienna, **1529**. It assisted the Reformation owing to the differences that arose between Pope and Emperor, and to the need of employing in Italy Imperial troops which might have been used against the German Reformers.

A. The position of the Emperor.

By **1530** the Emperor had secured supremacy in Italy, but his designs for the dismemberment of France had failed, and Francis, who had no respect for treaties, was sure to attempt to regain Milan if a suitable opportunity occurred. Clement VII's main object was

dynastic, and he would be sure to seize any chance that presented itself for the aggrandisement of the Medici. But for the present Charles felt that he could give full attention to the Reformation in Germany and he left Italy in April, 1530.

B. Causes of Charles' success.

Charles had been fortunate in his servants, Pescara, Leyva and Lannoy; his Spanish and German troops were well trained and disciplined, and although turbulent, and sometimes mutinous, proved efficient on the battlefield. Bonnivet, St. Pol, the Duke of Urbino and even Lautrec were inferior to the imperialist generals, and their troops were less efficient and less faithful than those on the other side.

The personal characters of the rivals affected the issue. Charles was in Spain during the war and took no active part in the operations, but his determination and steady purpose offered a strong contrast to the levity of Francis, whose devotion to pleasure hampered his conduct of the war.

The alliance with England proved of little advantage to either side.

C. Milan.

Milan was "a luxury to France, a point of vital importance to Charles." It was essential that the man who held Naples and the Netherlands should hold Milan, which formed a northern bulwark to Naples and facilitated the passage to the Netherlands of Spanish troops who came from Naples or from Spain oversea to Milan.

D. Italy was the battlefield.

The lack of national feeling in Italy enabled Charles and Francis to secure Italian allies, and discord between the states of Italy facilitated foreign intervention. Italy therefore was the battlefield of Hapsburg and Valois up to 1529. Invasions of France, Spain and the

Netherlands always failed, Germany was not touched. But afterwards the religious question in Germany, which led to friendly relations between France and the German Protestant princes, and the danger caused by Turkish attacks on the Hapsburg possessions on the Danube, made Italy of less importance.

E. Finance.

The problem of finance was of great importance, for the cost of military operations was enormous and both parties were hampered by lack of funds. Charles, who always paid the interest due on his debts, received most valuable assistance from the Fuggers, who administered on his behalf the estates of the great military orders and Spanish silver and quicksilver mines; he received one-fifth of the rich treasure brought to Spain from the Indies; the Netherlands voted enormous sums. He raised money by the unwise expedient of pledging in advance the revenues of Castile and Naples, and secured large contributions from the smaller Italian states, although Milan was so impoverished by war as to be of little financial help.

The financial system of France enabled Francis to obtain large sums by raising the "taille," but the cost of the war led to heavy deficits.

Vast sums of money were diverted from commerce and industry to war. The general result was that "the road was opened to national bankruptcy, which was general soon after the Peace of Cateau-Cambrésis."

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FROM THE PEACE OF CAMBRAY TO THE PEACE OF CRÉPY, 1529-1544

I. From the Peace of Cambray, 1529, to the outbreak of the Fourth War between Francis I and Charles V.

A. Charles V.

In spite of his success in Italy the position of Charles V was difficult. As Holy Roman Emperor he was bound to defend the Church and maintain orthodox doctrine, but as King of Germany he was compelled to make concessions to the Protestants to secure their help against the Turks who were threatening his eastern borders, while as King of Italy he was often compelled to oppose the Pope; many German princes resented his desire to strengthen the royal power and to promote Hapsburg interests; the Moors continually attacked his seaports in Spain and Italy; Francis I, although anxious to regain Milan, was not strong enough to renew the war, but added to Charles' difficulties by intriguing with the Pope, the Turks and the German Protestants; the divorce case of Catherine of Aragon led to enmity between Charles V, Catherine's nephew, and Henry VIII.

B. Francis I.

By his earlier Italian expeditions Francis had hoped to strengthen his chances of securing the Empire. His great object now was to save France from being encompassed by the predominant power of Charles V. To accomplish this end he not only endeavoured to add to his possessions in Italy, but shocked Europe by making a close alliance with the Turks.

Francis I, on the death of his mother, Louise of Savoy, seized her treasure amounting to a million and a half golden crowns and used it to remodel his army. He opened negotiations with the Protestant League of

Schmalkalde, founded by German princes, with John Zapoyla the opponent of Ferdinand of Hapsburg, and with Suleiman and the Moorish chief Barbarossa. The alliance of Francis with Suleiman practically ended the religious solidarity of Christendom which had been one of the features of the Middle Ages.

C. Pope Clement VII.

Clement was terrified at the possibility that Charles would summon a General Council and resented the appointment of Cardinal Colonna as Governor of Naples, and the grant, in April, **1531**, to the Duke of Ferrara of Reggio and Modena which Clement claimed as Papal possessions. Francis I, anxious to divert Clement from an Austro-Spanish policy, threatened to separate the French Church from Rome.

Clement VII tried to solve his difficulties by arranging, in the interests of the Medici, not of Italy, a marriage between Catherine de' Medici, daughter of Lorenzo de' Medici II, Duke of Urbino, and Henry, Duke of Orleans, the second son of Francis. They were married in October, **1533**. But France never received Milan, Naples and Genoa which were to be Catherine's dowry, and the death of Clement VII in **1534** broke off the alliance between Francis and the Medici which had brought Francis no advantage, weakened the relations between Francis and the German Reformers, and was destined to bring much evil on France.

D. Defeat of Barbarossa, **1535**.

Hayraddin Barbarossa had secured Algiers and Tunis, was supported by Suleiman and established friendly relations with Francis. He raided the coasts of Italy in **1534**.

1535. Charles V, assisted by Doria, utterly routed Barbarossa, took Tunis and established a friendly prince, Muley Hassan, as ruler.

II. Fourth War between Francis I and Charles V.**A. Milan.**

Francis had declared war on Francesco Sforza, Duke of Milan, owing to the murder of his agent Maraviglia, in **1533**. On the death of Francesco, on November 1st, **1535**, Leyva occupied Milan, which had escheated to its overlord the Emperor. Francis, who had made an alliance with Suleiman providing that he should attack the Milanese and Suleiman should attack the coast of Naples, now demanded Milan for his son the Duke of Orleans. Charles offered to give Milan to Francis' third son, the Duke of Angoulême, provided that the Duchy should not be united to France and that Francis would help Charles against the Turks and Barbarossa and Zapoyla, would acknowledge Ferdinand as King of the Romans and support the early summons of a General Council. The negotiations failed and war broke out in March, **1536**.

B. Savoy.

Francis' best route to Milan lay through Savoy, but Duke Charles III, the husband of Beatrice of Portugal, the sister of Charles V's wife Isabella, refused to surrender part of his territory which Francis claimed.

March, **1536**, the French conquered Savoy and took Turin. Charles strongly protested against the action of Francis, and in a meeting at Rome offered to give Milan to a French prince other than Orleans, or to meet Francis in single combat "on some island, or some bridge, or in a boat moored in stream, to be fought out with sword or dagger in their shirts," or to go to war with Francis.

The Marquis of Saluzzo deserted Francis and surrendered to Charles the chief fortresses of Piedmont.

C. Provence.

1536. The Imperial army invaded Provence. Montmorency, the French general, devastated the country,

refused to fight a battle and kept his army at Avignon and Valence. The Imperialists lost so many men from famine and pestilence, including Leyva, that Charles was compelled to retreat after vainly besieging Marseilles.

[1536. Death of Catherine of Aragon. Charles now made friendly overtures to Henry VIII. The marriage of James V of Scotland to Francis' daughter Madeleine on January 1st, 1537, was a successful counter move on the part of Francis.]

D. Artois.

Francis I reasserted the sovereignty over Flanders and Artois which he had given up by the Peace of Cambray, and summoned Charles to do homage for them in Paris.

1537. The French, aided by Charles of Guelders, invaded Artois and captured Hesdin, but soon evacuated the country.

E. Florence.

1537. Murder of Alessandro de' Medici. Cosimo de' Medici, in spite of French opposition, became Duke of Florence, and his accession promoted the interests of Charles.

[1538. James V of Scotland, on the death of Madeleine of France, married Mary of Guise.]

F. The Truce of Nice, 1538.

Both monarchs were ready for peace. The French invasion of Artois in 1537 had no permanent results ; the Turks had done little to help Francis ; Barbarossa found that Sicily was strongly defended and effected little ; Montmorency, a strong Catholic, disliked alliances with Turks and Protestants and urged Francis to unite with the Emperor to crush heresy. Charles had met with little success. Suleiman had defeated Ferdinand

at Essek in October, **1537**; Ghent had revolted in **1537**; the Lutherans were gaining strength.

Pope Paul III acted as mediator between Francis and Charles in a monastery near Nice, the Duke of Savoy having refused to give Nice, his sole remaining possession, into Charles' possession for the meeting. The Truce was made on June 18th, **1538**, and provided—

- (1) That Francis and Charles should keep their conquests in Savoy. Nice alone remained to the Duke.
- (2) The French should keep Hesdin and Mirandola.
- (3) Geneva, which had revolted against the Duke of Savoy, was to receive its independence.

A personal meeting between Charles and Francis at Aigues Mortes in July established more cordial personal relations between them. But lasting friendship between Francis and Charles was impossible for they stood for opposed political systems: Charles for Imperial rule, Francis for territorial sovereignty and national independence. The advantage of the war lay with Francis, who secured most of Savoy and Piedmont.

"For Francis [the Truce of Nice] was a piece of good luck; he had no other formidable enemies to fear. . . . With Charles it was far different; to him peace with France meant only an opening for work in other quarters," war with Suleiman and Barbarossa, quarrels with the Cortes in Spain and the Protestants in Germany, difficulties in the Netherlands.

III. From the Truce of Nice, 1538, to the Peace of Crépy, 1544.

A. From the Truce of Nice to the outbreak of the War.

Charles took advantage of the Truce of Nice to deal with some of his other difficulties. He secured the goodwill of Francis by leading him, although without a formal promise, to think that he would invest the Duke of Orleans with Milan when a final peace was established.

Ghent, 1540.

Ghent had refused to pay her share of the subsidies voted by the estates of Flanders in **1536** and had revolted. The Gantois asked Francis to help them against Charles and offered to help Francis to secure Artois and Picardy. By the advice of Montmorency, Francis refused their offers and gave Charles permission to pass through France on his way to suppress the revolt. Charles spent six days in Paris at New Year, **1540**, and Francis, though sorely tempted, was restrained by fear of the opinion of Europe from imprisoning or poisoning him.

February, **1540**. Ghent submitted to Charles, who cancelled its privileges, executed the ringleaders and ruined the trade of the city.

B. Guelders and Milan.**(1) Guelders.**

William de la Mark had been elected Duke of Guelders on the death of Duke Charles, the old opponent of Charles V in **1538**. In **1539** William succeeded his father as Duke of Cleves, Berg and Jülich. The union of these duchies under a Protestant prince was a serious danger to the Hapsburg power in North Germany and the Netherlands; but Francis, in July, **1540**, recognised William as Duke of Guelders and promised him the hand of Jeanne d'Albret, thus compensating him for the rejection of his sister Anne of Cleves by Henry VIII.¹

(2) Milan.

October, **1540**. Charles V therefore invested his son Philip with the Duchy of Milan. Strong resentment of Francis at the exclusion of Charles of Orleans.

C. England.

1540. The Catholic Reaction in England improved the relations between Henry VIII and Charles V, who

¹ *Notes on British History*, Part II, page 285.

declared that he was Henry's loving brother and faithful friend.

D. The Diet of Ratisbon.

July, **1541**. Failure of the Diet of Ratisbon to effect a reconciliation between Protestants and Catholics in Germany.

E. Assassination of French Envoys.

Suleiman was angry because he had not been consulted about the Truce of Nice which had set the Hapsburgs at liberty to oppose him in Hungary. Francis sent two envoys to conciliate him and to arrange for united action against Charles.

July, **1541**. Assassination of the French envoys, probably by Charles' servant the Governor of Milan.

F. Barbarossa.

October, **1541**. Utter defeat at Algiers of an expedition sent by Charles against Barbarossa. The command of the Mediterranean secured by the French and Turks.

G. July, 1541. Suleiman, in alliance with the younger Zapoyla, captured Buda, which the Turks kept till **1688**.

IV. Fifth War between Francis I and Charles V, 1542-1544.

The papers of the French envoys revealed to Charles the designs of Francis and made war inevitable; the defeat of Charles at Algiers encouraged Francis to break the peace.

A. The Allies of Francis.

The German Protestants and Venetians refused to join Francis, who had persecuted the Vaudois in **1540** and was the ally of the Turk. William of Cleves and the kings of Denmark and Sweden joined Francis, but not Henry VIII, who resented the alliance between France and Scotland and was gradually establishing better relations with Charles V.

B. 1542.

War was proclaimed by Francis early in 1542. He sent five armies to attack Charles in Artois, Brabant, Luxemburg, Piedmont and Roussillon.

Charles of Orleans captured much of Luxemburg, but withdrew his army to support Francis in Roussillon, where the success of Alva in defending Perpignan averted a great French victory. The Imperialists recovered Luxemburg. .

C. 1543.**(1) Barbarossa.**

August, 1543. Barbarossa devastated the coasts of Italy and, in conjunction with the French, captured the town, although not the citadel, of Nice, which was soon recaptured by Andrea Doria and the army of Milan.

(2) Cleves.

September, 1543. Charles V utterly routed William of Cleves, who was compelled to give up the Duchy of Guelders, renounce the Protestant religion and break his alliance with Francis. He married a daughter of Ferdinand.

(3) Luxemburg.

October, 1543. Francis invaded Luxemburg, but too late to save William of Cleves. The Imperialists failed to capture Landrecies.

(4) Hungary.

Suleiman overran most of Hungary.

D. 1544.

Charles' position had improved. At the Diet of Spire in February, 1544, the Protestants, indignant at the alliance between Suleiman and Francis, agreed to support the Emperor. In Scotland, on the death of James V in 1542, his widow, Mary of Guise, had continued the French alliance.

1543. Henry VIII made a treaty with Charles against Francis protesting against the Turkish alliance and agreeing, if Francis refused to come to terms, to invade France jointly in order to secure Burgundy for Charles, Normandy, Guienne and the French throne for himself. Denmark in **1544** severed her alliance with France.

(1) Ceresole.

April 14th, **1544.** The Count of Enghien routed the Marquis del Quarto, the Governor of Milan, at Ceresole, but gained very little real advantage from his victory.

(2) The joint invasion of France.

The English had invaded Scotland and captured Edinburgh and Leith. Henry and Charles agreed to strike at Paris and not to spend time in siege operations; "a swift forward movement might have brought sudden success, the fall of Paris, the possible overthrow of Francis." But the time spent in besieging Boulogne and St. Dizier saved Paris.

a. Henry VIII.

Henry landed at Calais in July, **1544**, and, contrary to his agreement with Charles, besieged Boulogne. The siege took seven weeks and Boulogne surrendered on September 14th.

b. Charles V.

Charles' army spent time in reducing the fortresses of Luxemburg and Champagne, where the siege of St. Dizier lasted five weeks.

Partly owing to divided councils in France caused by the quarrels of Madame d'Etampes, the mistress of Francis, and Diana of Poitiers, the mistress of the Dauphin, and to the serious illness of Francis, Charles, although Henry did not join him, got within two days march of Paris.

V. The Peace of Crépy, September 18th. 1544.

Charles now concluded a treaty without consulting Henry, whose failure to bring help had prevented the capture of Paris.

A. The Terms.

- (1) All places taken since the Truce of Nice to be restored.

This involved the severance of the alliance between Charles and Henry VIII, who would not give up Boulogne.

- (2) Francis and Charles to co-operate against the Turks and in support of Roman Catholicism.

Francis thus threw over his ally Suleiman, and Charles the German Protestants who had supported him at Spires.

- (3) Francis to renounce all claims on Naples, Flanders, Artois ; not to support William of Cleves' claim to Guelders ; to restore Savoy to its Duke.

- (4) Charles to renounce his claim to the Duchy of Burgundy.

- (5) Charles to give in marriage to the Duke of Orleans either his daughter, with the Netherlands, or his niece, Ferdinand's daughter, with Milan.

[June 7th, 1546. The Treaty of Ardres made peace between Francis I and Henry VIII, who agreed to give up Boulogne in return for a money payment.]

B. Criticism.

In view of Charles' successful invasion the treaty, and especially the last clause, seems unduly favourable to France.

But Charles was anxious to extirpate Protestantism in Germany, to settle Church problems in a General Council and to check the Turks in Hungary. He could not rely upon the steady support of Pope Paul III, who was mainly concerned in establishing the fortunes of his

own family, the Farnese, and made the treaty without consulting him. He hoped by concessions to Francis to win the active support of France in his two main objects.

Some allowance must be made for the failing health of Charles, who suffered severely from gout and was growing weary of the intolerable burden he had carried for so long.

References :

Europe in the Sixteenth Century (Johnson), Rivingtons, pp. 209-217.

History of France (Kitchin), Vol. II. chap. III.

The Cambridge Modern History, Vol. II, pp. 74-79.

Lectures on European History (Stubbs), Longmans. Lecture VII.

A History of European Diplomacy (D. J. Hill), Vol. II, chap. VI, Section 3.

FROM THE PEACE OF CRÉPY TO THE PEACE OF CATEAU-CAMBRÉSI, 1544-1559

I. The position of Charles V in 1545.

Charles, now relieved of danger from Francis, was able to take a stronger position in Germany.

A. Germany.

The Council of Trent had met in December, 1545; the Protestants who rejected its first decrees were put to the ban of the Empire; Pope Paul III promised to help Charles with men and money; Maurice of Saxony joined Charles, who routed the Schmalkaldic League at Mühlberg, 1547.

B. Italy.

(1) Charles' supporters.

Charles was served in Italy by faithful supporters. The death of the Duke of Orleans in September, **1545**, had relieved Charles from the possible necessity of relinquishing Milan, and he made Gonzaga governor ; Cosimo de' Medici, Duke of Florence, Ercole II, Duke of Ferrara, and Andrea Doria at Genoa were Imperialists. Toledo held Naples.

(2) Pope Paul III.

But Paul III was unreliable. He had invested his son Pierluigi Farnese with Parma and Piacenza, which belonged to Milan ; he sympathised with the unsuccessful attempt of Gianluigi Fiesco to take Genoa in January, **1547** ; greatly to the annoyance of Charles he removed the Council from Trent to Bologna. But the death of Henry VIII on January 28th and Francis I on March 31st opened out new problems, and neither Pope nor Emperor was prepared for open hostility.

September, **1547**. Assassination of Pierluigi Farnese at Piacenza. Gonzago seized the city for Charles—"an act of open war against the Pope." Paul III therefore entered into negotiations with France. But in **1548** Henry II was engaged in war with England ; Paul suspended the Council of Trent in September, **1549**, and died on November 10th without securing the active help of France.

(3) Pope Julius III, 1550.

Julius III, after some hesitation, supported Charles and summoned the second meeting of the Council of Trent in January, **1551** ; refused to help Ottavio Farnese to secure Parma.

II. Henry II.

Henry II, who succeeded his father Francis I in **1547**, feared that France was endangered by the growing

strength of Charles, but refused to join Paul III in an alliance against Charles after the battle of Mühlberg, **1547**. But he gradually strengthened his position.

A. England.

- (1) **1547**. A French force was sent to assist Mary of Guise against the English, who wished to bring about the marriage of Mary Queen of Scots and Edward VI. After the English victory at Pinkie, **1547**, Mary Queen of Scots was sent to France, where she was betrothed to Francis the Dauphin.
- (2) **1550**. Peace was made between England and France. The English gave up Boulogne.

B. Germany.

Charles' position in Germany was rendered more difficult owing to the opposition of Ferdinand, elected King of the Romans in **1531**, to the Emperor's desire to secure the Empire for his son Philip ; to the revival of the Schmalkaldic League ; to the growth of friendly relations between Maurice of Saxony and the Protestant princes. Maurice opened negotiations with Henry.

January 15th, **1552**. Henry II, influenced by the Guises and in opposition to Montmorency, made the Treaty of Chambord with the German Protestants, by which he promised to help them against Charles ; they agreed that Henry should receive Metz, Toul and Verdun.

C. Italy.

- (1) Ottavio Farnese.

1550. Ottavio Farnese came to an agreement with Henry.

- (2) Pope Julius III.

1552. Julius III, tired of the costly war against Ottavio and fearing French hostility, made a truce with Henry II.

D. The Turks.

Henry II renewed the alliance of France with the Turks, who in **1551** ravaged the coasts of Italy, captured Tripoli from the Knights of St. John and invaded Hungary.

TO THE PEACE OF CATEAU-CAMBRÉSIS 157

III. The Sixth War between Hapsburg and Valois, 1552-1559.

A. 1552.

(1) The Invasion of Lorraine.

a. Henry's success.

March, 1552. Henry II, asserting that he came to protect the liberty of Germany, invaded Lorraine and took Metz, Toul and Verdun. This successful attempt to secure Imperial territory which was not Burgundian is a new development of French policy. The three cities were lost to the Empire, and "the war of 1870 was the *revanche* for 1552."

But Henry provoked local opposition by occupying Metz with a French garrison. Strasburg and Spires therefore refused to open their gates.

b. The siege of Metz.

October 22nd, 1552 to January 1st, 1553. Charles V besieged Metz, which was defended by Guise. The failure of his attempt "broke the spirit and heart of Charles."

(2) Germany.

a. Maurice of Saxony.

March, 1552. Concurrently with Henry's invasion of Lorraine, Maurice of Saxony revolted against Charles. He refused to take an opportunity of capturing the Emperor at Innsbruck because "I have no cage big enough for such a bird." Charles was compelled to agree to the Treaty of Passau, August 2nd, 1552,¹ and his position was further weakened by his failure to capture Metz.

b. Transylvania.

The Turks assisted the widow and son of Zapoyla to take Transylvania from Ferdinand.

¹ Page 210.

(3) Italy.

1552. Siena expelled its Spanish garrison and admitted the French.

1553. The French and Turks, under Dragut, raided the coasts of Italy and took Corsica from the Genoese.

B. 1553 to the Truce of Vaucelles, February, 1556.

April, **1553.** Charles captured Terouenne and, later, Philibert, Duke of Savoy, took Hesdin.

July 9th, **1553.** Maurice of Saxony killed at Sievershausen.

July 25th, **1554.** Marriage of Mary, Queen of England, to Charles' son Philip.

1554. Henry II invaded the Netherlands and took Bouvines and Dinant; he was checked at Renti by Charles in August and returned to France.

1555. The Spaniards retook Siena, which passed to Cosimo de' Medici [who became first Duke of Tuscany in 1569].

February, **1556.** The Truce of Vaucelles, one of the last acts of Charles, stopped military operations for a short time.

1556. Charles resigned the crowns of Germany, Spain and the Empire and retired to Yuste in September.

C. The Renewal of War.**(1) Pope Paul IV.**

May 23rd, **1555.** Election of Cardinal Caraffa, Paul IV. The new Pope was a strong enemy of Spain; as a Neapolitan he resented the Spanish rule in Naples; Charles V had tried to prevent him from becoming Archbishop of Naples and had adopted more moderate measures towards the Lutherans than the new Pope thought desirable. He made a treaty with Henry II in December, **1555**, but war was averted by the Truce of Vaucelles.

July, 1556. Largely owing to the Guises, strong opponents of Spain, a new alliance between France and the Papacy was made and war broke out immediately.

(2) The War in Italy.

a. Alva.

Pope Paul IV had deprived the Colonna, supporters of Charles, of their territory, imprisoned the Spanish envoy Vega, declared that Charles and Philip had forfeited Naples and threatened them with excommunication.

September, 1556. Alva, the Governor of Naples, invaded the Papal States, did not take Rome, although he could have done so, accepted the pretended submission of the Pope and withdrew.

b. Guise.

January, 1557. The Duke of Guise was sent by Henry to help Paul. He invaded Naples, failed to take Civitella in May; was forced to retreat and compelled to return to France owing to the Battle of St. Quentin.¹ The disappointed Pope told him he had "done little for his King, still less for the Church, and nothing for his honour."

c. Peace.

September 17th, 1557. Owing to the Battle of St. Quentin, Paul made peace on advantageous terms with Philip, and was reconciled with Alva. Philip gave Piacenza to his brother-in-law Ottavio Farnese, Duke of Parma, and Siena to Cosimo de' Medici, and thus secured two powerful friends in the north and centre of Italy

¹ Page 160.

(3) The Netherlands.

June 7th, **1557**. Mary of England declared war on France. Philip therefore determined to attack France, weakened by Guise's Italian expedition from the north.

a. St. Quentin.

August 2nd, **1557**. Philibert, Duke of Savoy, besieged St. Quentin, which Coligny defended.

August 10th, **1557**. Philibert utterly routed Montmorency, who tried to relieve St. Quentin, but made a grave mistake in not leaving a force to continue the siege and pushing on to Paris, the way to which lay open owing to Montmorency's defeat.¹

August 27th, **1557**. Philibert took St. Quentin.

Owing to Coligny's efforts St. Quentin had held out for seventeen days. This delay gave Henry II time to reorganise his defence and saved France from Philip.

b. Calais.

January, **1558**. Guise, whose position was greatly strengthened by the defeat of his rival Montmorency, took Calais and Guisnes, thus closing to England the gate to northern France.

[April, **1558**. Marriage of the Dauphin Francis (II) to Mary Queen of Scots.]

c. Gravelines.

June, **1558**. The French invaded Flanders and captured Thionville.

July 13th, **1558**. Complete defeat of Marshal de Termes, who had sacked Dunkirk, by the Flemings under Egmont, who was greatly helped by the guns of the English fleet, at Gravelines.

¹ August 10th was St. Lawrence's Day. To commemorate the victory Philip built the Escorial Palace in the shape of a gridiron on which St. Lawrence was martyred.

IV. The Peace of Cateau-Cambrésis, 1559.

The death of Queen Mary on November 17th, **1558**, facilitated the negotiations for peace, for Philip would not try to secure the restoration of Calais for Elizabeth, and Elizabeth was unwilling to promise further support to Philip.

Philip was anxious for peace. Charles V had died on September 21st, **1558**, and Philip was required in Spain ; he was nearly ruined by the cost of the war ; he viewed with alarm the spread of the Reformation, which seemed to demand the united opposition of France and Spain.

Henry II also wanted peace, for the " strength of the realm was worn out by the slaughter of St. Quentin and Gravelines " ; the Cardinal of Lorraine wanted peace to enable stronger measures to be taken against heresy ; the moderate party, headed by Montmorency and Coligny, feared that a continuance of the war would strengthen the Guises.

The arrangements were made by Cardinal Granvelle, Bishop of Arras, for Philip, and the Cardinal of Lorraine for Henry II. The Treaty was signed on April 3rd, **1559**.

A. Terms.

(1) France was to retain Calais for eight years, and in perpetuity Metz, Toul and Verdun.

(2) France was to surrender all her other conquests.

a. Most of Savoy and Piedmont was restored to Philibert, Duke of Savoy. The portion not restored, including Turin and Saluzzo, was to be held by France until a judgment had been passed on the claim of Henry II to hold it as heir of his grandmother, Louise of Savoy.

b. Philip regained the towns in Luxemburg captured by the French.

c. Corsica was restored to Genoa.

(3) Philip was to surrender his conquests in Picardy.

- (4) Philip and Henry were to combine to repress heresy in France, Spain and the Netherlands.
- (5) Philip was to marry Henry II's daughter Elizabeth. [This marriage took place in 1560.] Philibert of Savoy was to marry Margaret, Henry II's sister.

B. Criticism.

The Peace of Cateau-Cambr sis closes one epoch in European history and starts another. The dynastic struggle between Valois and Hapsburg, which had greatly weakened the opposition to the Reformation, now comes to an end ; the two leading Catholic powers unite, and that union was one of the causes of the Counter Reformation.

The Treaty recognised the organic unity of France, Spain and the Netherlands, and as Germany was now separated from Spain the European state system was developed. The new Protestant states changed the political equilibrium of Europe. The Peace was "a long step in advance towards the affirmation of sound national policies and the delimitation of natural frontiers."¹ It settled the course of European politics up to the Peace of Westphalia.

(1) France.

- a. By the Treaty France "lost as many provinces as she regained cities," and her losses at St. Quentin and Gravelines did not justify the cessions she was obliged to make.
- b. The acquisition of Metz, Toul and Verdun marks an important development in French policy—the extension of French territory towards the Rhine. If, instead of wasting her forces in Italian campaigns which gained no permanent success, France had striven to extend her frontiers in Roussillon, Franche-Comt  and Lor-

¹ Dr. Hill.

raïne, she might have been equally successful in stopping the attempt of Charles V to dominate Western Europe without incurring the enormous expenditure of men and money which her Italian policy involved.

c. The treaties made with the Turks were an "unpardonable sin"¹ and facilitated the extension of Turkish power in Hungary and the Mediterranean.

d. The treaties made with the German Protestants were entirely inconsistent with the persecution of the Vaudois and Huguenots in France and promoted the spread of the Reformation in Germany.

e. Owing to the wars from 1494-1559 France was ruined; two parties arose which aggravated the religious wars which were soon to break out; the position of France as a determining factor in European politics was seriously impaired.

(2) Italy.

The Hapsburg-Valois struggle had ended in the firm establishment of Spanish rule in Italy. With the surrender of Pope Paul IV in 1557 "ends the chief share of Italy in the complications of European politics for some centuries. Naples continued in the closest connexion Spanish until the extinction of the Spanish Hapsburgs. The Popes continued powerless against Spanish influences; Italy ceased to be the battlefield of France, Germany and Spain."²

(3) Spain.

Philip II, the master of Spain, Portugal, Naples, Sicily, Milan and the Netherlands, derived a great income from the Indies and relied upon his excellent

¹ Stubbs.

² *Ibid.*, *Lectures on European History*, page 155.

Spanish infantry. But the struggle with the Valois had seriously weakened the resources of Spain and may be regarded as, in some measure, a contributory cause to the successful revolt of the Netherlands and the defeat of the Armada.

References:

Europe in the Sixteenth Century (Johnson), Rivingtons, pp. 217-260.

Cambridge Modern History, Vol. II, chap. III.

Lectures on European History (Stubbs), Longmans.

A History of European Diplomacy (D. J. Hill), Longmans, Vol. II, chap. VI, Section 2.

SECTION V
THE REFORMATION IN GERMANY

THE CAUSES OF THE REFORMATION

Bishop Stubbs asserts that the growth of the Hapsburg power and the Reformation with its allied movements divide the mediæval from the modern world. The influence of the Reformation "has underlain . . . almost every struggle since the century in which it originated." It is seen in the English Civil War, perhaps in the French Revolution, in the division between North and South Germany, in the wars of the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

The Reformation was a religious movement, but it was also literary and political, affecting the fates of dynasties, localities and nations. The conditions prevailing in Germany were the immediate cause: "the reform movement was a logical and necessary outcome of the constitution of the Germanic mind and nature in the presence of religious abuses which could no longer be tolerated."¹

I. The Renaissance.²

- (1) The Renaissance had taught the importance of the individual; had urged the need of criticism and inquiry; had weakened the respect for long-established authority. The Reformation vindicated the freedom of the individual as against an ecclesiastical and priestly system and subjected to criticism and inquiry the doctrines and discipline of the Roman Church.

¹ D. J. Hill, *A History of European Diplomacy*, Vol. II, page 423.

² Page 101.

- (2) The Renaissance attacked the Scholastic learning which was one of the main foundations of the old ecclesiastical system. "It raised the reason that could speculate concerning truth above the authority that would legislate in its behalf." The study of Hebrew and Greek, the application of methods of literary criticism to the Old and New Testaments, popular books attacking Church abuses, such as the *Ship of Fools*, and the possibility of securing a wide circulation for publications by means of the printing press, helped the cause of the Reformation.
- (3) The Renaissance in Germany was a religious and Christian, as well as a literary, movement and "became an attempt to reincarnate the apostolical mind."¹

II. Church Reform.

The Roman Church had preached high ideals of life and conduct and had protected learning during the Dark and Early Middle Ages, but grave evils had arisen. The need of Reform had long been admitted. The establishment of the Friars may be regarded as a successful attempt to reform from within some of the faults of the lower clergy. The Lollards and Hussites failed to secure reform from without. The Conciliar movement of the fifteenth century, which was an attempt to reform the Church "in its head and members" from within,² and at the same time to preserve its unity, had failed. The failure was largely due to the opposition of the Popes, whose supremacy was threatened by the movement; Pius II by the Bull *Execrabilis*, 1460, declared that any appeal from a Papal decision to a General Council was heretical. The Reformation secured reform from without at the cost of division.

¹ Dr. A. M. Fairbairn.

² See *Notes on European History*, Part I, pp. 296, 309, 318

A. The Papacy.

(1) Claim to universal supremacy.

The high-water mark of papal claims was reached by Boniface VIII who, in the Bull *Unam Sanctam*, 1302, claimed absolute supremacy in spiritual and temporal matters. (The prestige of the Papacy had been seriously lowered by the Babylonish Captivity of the Popes at Avignon from 1305-1376, and the Great Schism from 1378.) The secularisation¹ of the Holy See, the attempts to extend the Papal States, whether for the benefit of the Church as in the case of Julius II, or for the family of the Pope as in the cases of Alexander VI and the Medici Popes, had diminished the spiritual influence of the Papacy, which had become "purely a political history of diplomatic intrigues, of alliances made and broken, of military enterprises." The universality of the Papacy was destroyed when the Pope became an Italian prince.

(2) The Papacy and Nationality and local feeling.

The feeling of nationality and of local patriotism in such cities as Florence and Venice led to strong protests against Papal interference. Grave abuses had arisen in regard to—

a. The interference of Papal Legates in national affairs.

1478. Ferdinand and Isabella, the most orthodox of sovereigns, complained of the interference of Legates with the royal power.

b. Ecclesiastical patronage.

The Holy See claimed the ownership of all benefices, and great friction arose owing to the claim to nominate bishops.

¹ *Notes on European History*, Part I, page 333.

1351 and 1390. Statutes of Provisors limited Papal patronage in England. The hostility of Venice to the Papacy was largely due to resentment at the Pope's claim to nominate bishops, who tended to become Papal agents, in Venetian territory.

1465 and 1487. King Mathias Corvinus compelled the Pope to accept his nomination to Hungarian bishoprics.

c. Clerical Exemption.

The Popes claimed exemption for all clergy from secular tribunals, and thus not only interfered with the jurisdiction of royal courts, but aggravated disorder by the admission to minor orders of criminals who, by pleading the Benefit of Clergy, escaped the just punishment of their crimes.

1478. Sixtus IV put Florence under an interdict because the people killed two priests who had murdered Giuliano and wounded Lorenzo de' Medici during Mass in the Duomo, and hanged the Archbishop of Pisa (who was trying to stir up a revolt).

1522. Strong protest of the Diet of Nuremberg.

d. Appellate Jurisdiction of the Pope.

Strong feeling was roused by the Appellate Jurisdiction of the Pope.

1353. The Statute of *Præmunire* forbade any suits cognisable in the King's courts to be referred to any foreign court.

1497. Pope Alexander VI relinquished his claim to hear appeals from the Spanish Inquisition.

e. Exemption from lay taxation.

The Church owned at least one-third of all the wealth of Christendom, and Boniface VIII, in the Bull *Clericis Laicos*, **1296**, had claimed

exemption for all ecclesiastical property from lay taxation.

1464-1471. Quarrel of the Pope with Venice and Florence, which tried to tax Church property.

f. Papal Bulls.

The Popes claimed the right to publish in any country Papal Bulls which were to be binding on the faithful.

1464. Louis XI forbade such publication without authority from the King.

1493. Ferdinand and Isabella made a similar order.

(3) Papal Finance.

Papal finance was one of the main causes of national and local discontent, but its importance necessitates separate treatment.

a. Papal revenue.

The Pope claimed to be master of all Church property and imposed levies at his discretion sometimes, as by Gregory IX in **1240** against Frederick II, to meet the expenses of war. In **1459** the German princes, in **1487** the German clergy, in **1500** the French clergy, prevented the payment of a tithe levied by the Pope for a crusade. The impecunious Maximilian declared that the Pope drew a hundred times larger revenue from Germany than he did.

The Pope raised much money by the sale of absolutions, dispensations for uncanonical marriages and benefices; by annates, a tax of the first year's income of a new incumbent; by the sale of dignities at Rome, e.g. in **1503** Alexander VI sold eighty new offices at seven hundred and sixty ducats apiece and nine Cardinalates for about 120,000 ducats, to raise money for Cæsar Borgia. Æneas Sylvius

(Pius II) declared that everything was for sale at Rome ; Cardinal Borgia said that " God desireth not the death of the sinner, but rather that he should pay and live."

- b. The method of collection was such that often only a part of the money raised reached the Papal Treasury.

E.g. the Fuggers of Augsburg farmed the indulgences sold by Leo X to meet the cost of building St. Peter's, on a commission of fifty per cent.

- c. The Popes used vast sums of money for secular purposes ; to finance wars for the extension of the Papal territory, for the aggrandisement of Cæsar Borgia, the Medici or the Farnese ; to build palaces ; to pay for splendid banquets and ceremonies.

" In its essence the Reformation was due more largely to financial than to religious considerations."¹ The Statutes of Provisors and Præmunire, the Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges, 1438, and the Pragmatic Sanction of Mainz, 1439, testify to the national resistance aroused by Papal interference.

B. The Sacerdotal System.

Largely owing to the teaching of the Schoolmen the priest had been interposed between man and God. " Salvation was to be gained not so much by abstinence from sin as by its pardon through the intervention of the priest."² The clergy claimed to hold the keys of heaven and earth ; they alone could baptize, marry or bury. The fees they received and the riches they acquired enabled the higher clergy to live in a manner which was utterly inconsistent with their vows of

¹ H. C. Lea in *Cambridge Modern History*, Vol. I, page 667.

² *Ibid.*, 673.

poverty. The education the clergy received enabled them to secure high political positions as ambassadors or royal ministers, and ecclesiastical preferment was often given as a reward for political service. "Ecclesiastical hypocrites," said Erasmus, "rule in the courts of princes." "There was an ecclesiastical network all over Europe."¹

The popularity of such pamphlets as *The Ship of Fools* or *The Praise of Folly*,² which poured contempt on the clergy, shows how the latter were hated, particularly in Germany. Erasmus said that it was a great insult to call a layman a priest.

Religion had become largely formal. The Mass was sung in Latin which few understood ; to many Church services were a meaningless form. There was a demand for a religion which should appeal to the heart, for knowledge which should make wise the simple. This demand had resulted in Germany in the formation of religious associations of laymen, such as St. Ursula's Schifflin, formed to promote prayer and religious exercises.

C. Religion and Morality.

Religion was divorced from morality. The moral character of many of the Popes was bad ; their attempts to provide for their illegitimate children often disturbed the peace of Italy. The lives of the higher clergy, of priests, monks and friars often caused grave scandal.

Machiavelli asserted that "by the corrupt example of [the Court of Rome] Italy has lost its religion and become heathenish and irreligious." Guicciardini, referring to Alexander VI, "the extinct serpent," speaks of his "immoderate ambition, pestiferous perfidy, monstrous lust, and every sort of horrible cruelty." In a sermon preached before the Council of Siena in 1423 the preacher declared, "The bishops are more voluptuous than Epicureans, and settle over the bottle the authority of Pope and Council."

¹ Seebohm.

² Pages 103, 104.

III. Political Causes.

Adequate political support was essential for the protection of religion in the sixteenth century. ' "If the Protestant Reformation had been merely a religious movement, it could not have survived the lifetime of the reformers who brought it into being. What rendered it triumphant was its political motives and influence, and pre-eminently its diplomacy."¹

Bishop Stubbs says, "The desire of increasing territory and exercising the rights of independent princes to prey upon one another was, I am convinced, the political cause of the German Reformation."²

A. Charles V.

{Charles was anxious to make the royal power effective over the whole of Germany: the princes wished to establish independent states.} The Reformation added to the difficulties of Charles at a time when the Hapsburg-Valois struggle prevented him from giving his whole attention to Germany. {Some of the princes, whether Protestants in fact or only in name, took advantage of the opportunity of furthering their own interests by supporting the Reformation and intrigued against Charles with the Valois kings who persecuted the Reformers in France, and particularly in 1552.³

B. Ecclesiastical territories.

The Archbishoprics of Mainz, Cologne, Trèves and Magdeburg were better governed than the lay principalities, but the princes hoped to secularise Church lands and to secure a portion for themselves. Charles V had given an example by purchasing and secularising the Bishopric of Utrecht, and the nobles were anxious to follow his example.⁴

An important development, which took place before the end of the fifteenth century, was the exercise in

¹ Dr. D. J. Hill, *European Diplomacy*, Vol. II, page 460.

² *Lectures on European History*, page 64.

³ Page 156.

⁴ Stubbs, page 64.

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Brandenburg and Saxony by the princes of discipline over the clergy.

IV. General.

The immediate cause of the Reformation was the opposition offered by Luther to Indulgences,¹ and, later, to the doctrine of the Roman Church, the long-admitted abuses of which had been emphasized by the German Renaissance, which was a Teutonic development of the Italian. The demand for a new form of religion which would bring the individual Christian into direct communion with God was a real factor ; but the ultimate, and essential, cause of the success of the Reformation in Germany was the political support received from the lay princes, who wished to secure their own independence of the Emperor.

References :

The Cambridge Modern History, Vol. I, chap. XIX.

Lectures on European History (Stubbs), Longmans, pp. 61-66.

Epochs of Modern History (The Reformation) (Seebohm), Longmans.

A History of European Diplomacy (D. J. Hill), Longmans, Vol. II, chap. vi, Section 3.

Lectures on Modern History. Acton, IV.

THE BEGINNING OF THE GERMAN REFORMATION

I. The Early Life of Luther.

November 10th, 1483. Martin Luther, the son of a miner, was born at Eisleben. He studied law at the University of Erfurt and took his M.A. in 1505. Consciousness of sin made him enter an Augustinian house at Erfurt, where the study of the Bible and the works of St. Augustine led him to accept the doctrine of Justification by Faith.

¹ Page 176.

- 1508.** Luther began to teach philosophy in the new University of Wittenberg, founded in **1502** by Frederick the Wise, Elector of Saxony.
- 1510.** A visit to Rome gave him first-hand knowledge of the grave abuses of the Church.
- 1512-1517.** Following Augustine, he defended the importance, as means of salvation, of faith and inward righteousness as against the efficacy of works to which scholastic theology attached much weight.

II. Indulgences.

A. The Theory of Indulgences.

(1) Penance.

The Sacrament of Penance included Contrition, or real sorrow for sin, Confession followed by Absolution, and Satisfaction. Absolution removed the guilt of sin and relieved from eternal punishment; but certain temporal penalties, including Purgatory, remained, and these were averted by Satisfaction, which was effected by penance.

(2) The Treasury of Merits.

Good deeds of the saints and the supremely good deeds of Christ had accumulated into a Treasury of Merits of which the Pope had sole disposal. A grant of merit from this Treasury, known as an Indulgence, was accepted as equivalent to Satisfaction, and thus relieved the contrite sinner, who had confessed and received Absolution, from the pains of Purgatory.

(3) Indulgences a Source of Revenue.

Indulgences were sold and proved a profitable source of revenue. They were used to raise money for specific objects, e.g. to build bridges or churches. It was claimed that Indulgences remitted the punishment not only of the living, but of the dead in Purgatory; men believed that Indulgences remitted guilt as well as punishment, and they obviously depended upon good works and left no room for grace.

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There was grave controversy as to certain aspects of Indulgences, and many theologians, including Ximenes, had protested against the abuses to which they gave rise. They were defended by the Papal Court, partly because of the revenue they raised, partly because they greatly strengthened the position of the Pope, who alone could dispose of them.

B. Luther's Theses.

(1) Tetzel.

John Tetzel, a Dominican monk, came to Germany to raise money to pay for St. Peter's Church, now being erected in Rome, by the sale of Indulgences granted by Pope Leo X. Frederick the Wise refused to allow Tetzel to enter Saxony, but people from Wittenberg had bought Indulgences from him at Jüterbogk, just outside the Electorate. Luther denied their value, and, as the result of a controversy with Tetzel, nailed ninety-five theses, or arguments, about Indulgences on the door of the Castle Church of Wittenberg, the usual place for academic notices, on November 1st, 1517.

(2) The Theses.

- a. Luther, while not denying the whole value of Indulgences, asserted that current views on the subject were largely the invention of the schoolmen and had not received the official approval of the Church. He maintained that Christ requires from the sinner not a single act of penance, but a "constant sense of sinfulness which demands a constant hatred of the old sinful self"; outward acts of penance are valuable only as signs of this sense. Such true repentance wins from God pardon; pardon cannot be gained through an Indulgence which cannot remit guilt or divine punishment for sin and does not apply to those in Purgatory. The

nature of the Treasury of Merits is obscure ; the only true Treasury of Merits is the grace of God.

- b. The theses were only propositions for an academic disputation, a common form of exercise in the Universities, on a question about which theologians of admitted orthodoxy had expressed grave doubt. They were published on the official notice board and due notice of them was sent by Luther to the Bishop of Brandenburg and the Archbishop of Mainz ; the latter sent them to Leo X.

C. The Opponents of Luther.

Leo X took little interest in the theses or the " monks' quarrel " which had arisen out of them.

(1) Prierias.

Prierias, a Dominican and an Inquisitor, an old opponent of Reuchlin, declared that—

- a. The Pope, speaking in his official capacity, could not err.
- b. All doctrines declared by the Roman Church and the Pope are binding upon the faithful.
- c. Ecclesiastical customs were matters of faith and were doctrines asserted by the acts of the Church.

Thus Prierias met Luther with an assertion of the infallibility of the Church and the Pope.

The Curia, finding that Luther's theses had greatly impaired the revenue from the sale of Indulgences, persuaded Leo X to summon Luther to Rome in July, 1518, to answer for his action. But the Elector Frederick, anxious for the reputation of his University of Wittenberg, induced the Pope to refer the case to the Cardinal Legate Cajetan, then attending the Diet of Augsburg.

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(2) Cajetan.

Luther reached Augsburg on October 12th, **1518**, assured of the sympathy of many to whom the theses had appealed, of the University of Wittenberg, of the Elector Frederick and his chaplain Spalatin. The appointment of Reuchlin's grand-nephew Melanchthon¹ as professor of Greek at Wittenberg in August, **1518**, was likely to increase the importance of Wittenberg as a school of theology and gave Luther a colleague whose help was to prove of great value in the preparation of his books and pamphlets.

The German princes had made a strong protest to Cajetan of the treatment Germany had received from the Papacy, and Maximilian warned the Pope of the danger of further exasperating the feeling of the country. Conciliatory methods were advisable, but Cajetan, although he held strong views as to the abuse of Indulgences, refused to allow Luther to explain his position and demanded, as the Pope's representative, that he should recant the opinions he had recently expressed and promise to keep silence in future. Luther refused to recant and appealed "from the Pope ill informed to the Pope better informed."

Cajetan's peremptory action increased German national feeling against the Papacy and provoked strong protests from scholars who regarded it as tyrannical stifling of the truth.

(3) Miltitz.

Carl von Miltitz, one of the Papal chamberlains, was sent by Leo X to present a golden rose to the Elector Frederick, whom the Pope was anxious to conciliate, and to deal with Luther. He saw that Luther was very strongly supported, reprimanded Tetzl, treated Luther kindly, and persuaded him to write a submissive letter to the Pope, undertaking to submit

¹ His name was Philip Schwartzerd, which Reuchlin translated into the Greek equivalent, Melanchthon.

to the judgment of the Church, and promising to keep silence in future if his adversaries would. Luther wrote the letter on March 3rd, **1519**.

(4) Eck.

June 27th–July 15th, **1519**. In a public disputation with John Eck at Leipzig, Luther maintained that the Scriptures were the test of all decrees of Pope or Council, and that “among the articles of John Huss many are entirely Christian and evangelical and the Universal Church cannot condemn them.” Eck claimed to have identified Luther’s opinions with those of Huss and pressed Leo to excommunicate Luther.

The Leipzig Disputation was most important because “it made Luther a central figure round which all the smouldering discontent of Germany with Rome could rally, and had made it possible for the political movement to become impregnated with religious conviction.”¹

III. Luther’s appeals to the German Nation, 1520.

A. Luther’s position.

Thus by the beginning of **1520** Luther’s position had been defined.

(1) The Pope.

The controversies in which he had been engaged had compelled Luther to consider the question of Papal Supremacy. His study of Augustine, the Fathers and Papal Decretals led him to deny the absolute authority of the Pope.

The young Emperor, Charles V, elected June 28th, **1519**, was a devout Catholic and anxious to maintain the Imperial authority in Germany. He would be expected, therefore, to support the Pope and resist the separatist tendencies of the princes which were soon to be brought into connection with the Reformation.

¹ Principal Lindsay in *The Cambridge Modern History*, Vol. II, page 136.

(2) Germany.

Luther was becoming the national leader of Germany in her resistance to Papal claims. In this he received new support from some of the knights, particularly the literary Ulrich von Hutten, who declared in his pamphlets that "Germany must abandon Rome," and the turbulent Franz von Sickingen and Götz von Berlichingen. The pencils of Lucas Cranach and Albrecht Dürer were used to support the Reformation. In order to make his position clear, Luther appealed to the German nation in three famous pamphlets published in 1520.

[June 15th, 1520. The Bull of Excommunication, drawn up by Cajetan, Prierias and Eck, was published in Rome.]

B. *To the Christian Nobility of the German Nation.* August, 1520.

This most successful "trumpet blast" was an appeal to the princes to unite against the spiritual supremacy of the Papacy, which the Popes wrongly asserted to be independent of and superior to secular power. Luther maintained that "all Christians are spiritual, and there is no difference between them. The secular power is of God, to punish the wicked and protect the good, and so has rule over the whole body of Christians, without exception, Pope, bishops, monks, nuns and all. . . ." "Let the secular authorities send no more annates to Rome. . . ." "Let the power of the Pope be reduced within clear limits. Let the national churches be more independent of Rome." The Holy Scriptures are open to all, and true believers may interpret them for themselves.

In this document Luther shows great respect for the civil government, but little for a long-established Church which, in spite of faults, had done much for Europe. He makes no suggestion of reforming the Church by purging it of its abuses; "the Church, as an outward organisa-

tion, has little value in his eyes ” ;¹ the power of the Pope over the State must be abolished.

C. *The Babylonish Captivity of the Church*, October, 1520.

Having urged Germany to revolt from Rome, Luther now attacked the mediæval doctrine of the sacraments, which he reduced from seven to three—Baptism, Penance and the Eucharist ; the sacraments had become regarded as good works—their spiritual meaning had been forgotten. The Scriptures are a higher authority than the Roman Church.

Luther denied the authority of the Pope, questioned the divine institution of the priesthood, and attacked the doctrine of Transubstantiation.

D. *The Liberty of a Christian man*, October, 1520.

Luther reasserted the doctrine of Justification by Faith and deduced from it the idea of the priesthood of all believers. Church ceremonies are important as signs of, or means of confirming faith.

E. Luther burns the Bull.

Eck was sent to publish the Bull of Excommunication in Germany, but the feeling in favour of Luther was so strong that the bishops were unwilling to allow it to be published in their dioceses.

December 10th, 1520. Luther publicly burned the Bull at Wittenberg, and thus gave his countrymen a dramatic example of defiance of Papal authority.

IV. General.

The Pope and his representatives had acted unwisely. Instead of giving Luther a fair trial they had met his arguments with an assertion of Papal supremacy, and from that position it was impossible for them to recede. The Church had not power to enforce the publication of the Bull in Germany owing to the opposition of the people. It was therefore compelled to call in the secular

¹ Creighton.

arm to crush Luther and avert the threatened disruption. Leo therefore called upon Charles V to enforce the Bull and put Luther under the Ban of the Empire. The Diet of Worms was summoned, largely, for this purpose.

References :

Europe in the Sixteenth Century (Johnson), Rivingtons, pp. 153-159.

Cambridge Modern History, Vol. II, chap. iv.

History of the Papacy (Creighton), Vol. IV, chaps. III, v.

THE DIET OF WORMS AND LUTHER, 1521-1522

Charles V opened the Diet of Worms on January 22nd, 1521. It had to deal with Luther and with the problem of establishing a central government strong enough to suppress private war and to compose the quarrels that broke out continually between the civil and ecclesiastical powers.

I. The Position of the Emperor.

The consent of the Diet was necessary before Luther could be put to the Ban of the Empire. Charles's position was difficult.¹ He was anxious to support the authority of the Church, but Leo X was negotiating with Francis I against him. The condemnation of Luther would be strongly resented in Germany, where much feeling had been aroused by the Pope's failure to consider the grievances of which the Diet of Augsburg had complained in 1518, and where, so the Papal Legate Aleander stated, " nine-tenths of Germany shouts for Luther." If Charles supported Luther, Leo would join Francis, and Charles' chance of recovering Milan would be weakened. Charles was unwilling to offend Frederick, the Elector of Saxony, who, partly owing to the advice of Erasmus, had become the defender of Luther.

¹ Page 128.

II. Luther at Worms.

Luther went to Worms under an Imperial safe conduct. He said later, "Had I known that there would be as many devils at Worms as tiles upon the house-tops, still I should joyfully have plunged in among them."

Luther was given no opportunity of defending his position, but asked to retract what he had written. He refused to do this, although admitting that in some cases he had been unduly violent and expressing his desire to hear and answer criticism.

He asserted that he would not change his opinions "unless I am convinced by witness of Scripture, or manifest reason, for I do not believe in Pope or Councils alone, since it is clear that they have often erred and contradicted themselves. I am overcome by the Scriptures, which I have brought forward, and my conscience is caught in the words of God."

By denying the infallibility of General Councils, Luther alienated Charles, who thought of summoning a General Council to reform Church abuses if the Pope continued to oppose him. Conscience might guide a man's action in civil matters also, and thus cause him to oppose the government. Luther thus "became in the eyes of Charles not only a heretic, but, what was worse, a rebel."¹ "I have, therefore," said Charles, "resolved to stake upon this cause all my dominions, my friends, my body and my blood, my life and my soul."

The Diet was reluctant to take extreme measures, and a commission of eight, representing the Electors, clergy and Imperial cities, was appointed to confer with Luther. But he would acknowledge no authority but Scripture interpreted by reason, and the conference failed.

May 25th, 1521. Luther was put to the Ban of the Empire after the Elector of Saxony and the Elector

¹ Johnson.

Palatine had left the Diet. On the same day Leo and Charles made a treaty of alliance against France.

But the Edict of the Diet, like the Papal Bull, depended for execution upon local authorities, and fear of disturbance prevented its publication except in the Hapsburg domains. The rapid growth of Lutheran doctrine was facilitated by the delay in executing the Ban.

III. Luther in the Wartburg.

Luther was seized by the Elector Frederick's soldiers and carried off secretly to the Wartburg, a castle of Frederick.

A. Luther's Bible.

Luther made a translation, based on the original text and in accordance with the Renaissance methods, of the New Testament into New High German, "the Protestant dialect," which in consequence superseded other dialects as the standard German language.

[1534. Luther's Bible finished.]

B. Lutheran theology.

Luther, whose criticism hitherto had been mainly destructive, constructed a system of Lutheran theology which insisted on the Augustinian doctrine of Predestination, or the unfree will.

[He thus rendered it impossible for Erasmus to become a Lutheran.]

IV. Wittenberg the Centre of the Reformation.

A. The Extremists.

Wittenberg, in which neither Papal Bull nor Imperial Edict was published, now became the centre of the Reformation movement and, in Luther's absence, extreme doctrines gained ground. Under the leadership of Carlstadt violent attacks were made on the celibacy of the clergy, monasticism and the Mass; the Augustinian monks renounced their vows and Carlstadt

administered the Communion in both kinds on Christmas Day, 1521. A number of Anabaptists from Zwickau, who repudiated infant baptism and advocated the purification of the Church by bloodshed, now came to Wittenberg. Riots broke out, images and priests' vestments were destroyed, an attempt was made to close schools and universities on the ground that the direct teaching of the Holy Ghost made them superfluous.

B. Luther's opposition.

March, 1522. Luther returned to Wittenberg and opposed the extremists, who left the city. Luther lived in the monastery, wore his priest's gown and allowed the Mass to be celebrated in the old and the new way. The Scriptures were again acknowledged as the rule of faith. "Luther vindicated the conservative character of the Reformation as he conceived it."

References :

Cambridge Modern History, Vol. II, chap. iv.

THE PROBLEM OF NATIONAL ADMINISTRATION

I. The Diet of Worms and the Council of Regency.

The struggle between the princes, who desired independence, and the Emperor, who wished to make his supreme power effective in Germany, had led Berthold of Mainz¹ to oppose Maximilian.

The princes, who wished to make their own states into monarchies, were opposing the Emperor, who aimed at asserting his authority as supreme monarch in Germany.

The fears of the princes were aroused when Charles in 1519 gave Ferdinand the Duchy of Würtemberg, from which Ulrich had been expelled, and thus greatly strengthened the position of the Hapsburgs.

¹ Page 110.

PROBLEM OF NATIONAL ADMINISTRATION 187

A. The National Council.

At his election Charles had promised that a Council of Regency should be established. At the Diet of Worms he made proposals for a Council (Reichsregiment), which was to have no authority over foreign affairs, and a constitution which secured for the Emperor a large measure of control over domestic government. The princes proposed a Council which would be practically supreme in Germany.

A compromise was made. The Council of Regency was to be supreme only when the Emperor was away from Germany; the consent of the Council was necessary for the formation of any leagues affecting the Empire.

B. Criticism.

- (1) The Emperor could spend but little time in Germany owing to the demands of Spain and the Netherlands. He was away from Germany for some years after the Diet of Worms, and his absence threw the burden of government on the Council.
- (2) The Council of Regency was a compromise between the princes and the Emperor. Neither the knights nor the cities were represented, although the latter were liable to taxation levied by the Council. The grievances of the peasants, whose discontent was growing stronger, received no consideration.

II. The Cities.

A. The Princes attack the Cities.

February, 1522. The Royal Council and the Diet, meeting at Nuremberg, decided to impose a tax of four per cent on all imports and exports, except necessities of life, to meet the cost of government and the expenses of war with the Turks. Thus the princes and the Church hoped to escape their share of the common burden which would fall wholly on the city merchants, whose successful

trading, regarded by the Church as usury which was forbidden by the canon law, had given to the German language, in the word "Fuggerei," an exact equivalent of our "profiteering." The princes further declared that the Imperial cities had been admitted to the Diet not as a right, but as a favour which could be revoked.

B. The Cities appeal to the Emperor.

March, 1523. Representatives of the cities met at Spires and, led by the Fuggers of Augsburg, to whom Charles was heavily in debt, appealed to the Emperor against the Council of Regency and suggested that the taxes might be used to strengthen the position of the princes, the common opponents of the Emperor and cities.

C. The Emperor's decision.

Charles therefore prohibited the proposed tax and forbade the Council to deal with such questions without his authority.

III. The Knights' War, 1522.

A. Causes.

Recent developments, such as the consolidation of the power of the princes, restrictions on private war, the limitation of feudal rights owing to the development of Roman Law, had pressed heavily upon the turbulent knights who held direct from the Emperor, administered their territories according to feudal law and relied largely upon plunder, especially of merchants, for their living. Agricultural depression and the general rise in prices had hit them hard. They regarded the Council of Regency as the instrument of their enemies the princes. Many knights, including Franz von Sickingen, were Lutherans and, while anxious to weaken the princes, were unwilling to attack the secular Electors, some of whom had strong Lutheran sympathies.

B. The Death of Sickingen.

August, 1522. Sickingen, in spite of the Edicts against private war, invaded the lands of the Archbishop Elector of Trèves, and besieged Trèves with an army of 6500 men. The city held out and Sickingen retired to his castle at Landstuhl, which was captured in April, 1523; Sickingen died of wounds soon after. The rebellion had been put down not by the Council of Regency, but by three princes, the Archbishop of Trèves, Philip, Landgrave of Hesse, and the Elector Palatine, aided by the Swabian League.

IV. Failure of the Council of Regency.

The Council had failed to assert its authority over the cities and to subdue the knights. The three electors who had defeated Sickingen and Duke George of Saxony withdrew. The Council continued to exist, but without any power. It had tried to secure national unity in the interests of the territorial princes, and even if it had been powerful the selfishness of the princes, each anxious to secure his own advantage, would have rendered it ineffective.

"So ended the last attempt to create a national government for the mediæval German Empire."¹

References :

Cambridge Modern History, Vol. II, chap. v.

THE PEASANTS' WAR, 1524-1525**I. The Grievances of the Peasants.****A. General conditions.**

The position of the peasants had become worse owing to the attempt of nobles to meet the increased cost of living by increasing the services or rents due from the

¹ Professor Pollard.

peasants ; to speculation in land and traffic in rents ; to the operation of the Roman Law, which regarded peasant service as a sign of serfdom. The growing burden of feudal services, taxation, tithes and other ecclesiastical dues which fell upon the shoulders of the peasants had become intolerable. They received no sympathy from Emperor, Diet or Council of Regency ; the utter defeat of Sickingen ended any hope of securing help from the knights. The Reformation had strengthened their view of their own importance by the assertion of the priesthood of all believers. Carlstadt, after his expulsion from Wittenberg, and Münzer justified revolt by reference to Scripture, found ready acceptance among the peasants for their extreme doctrines and preached discontent and revolution.

B. The Twelve Articles of Memmingen.

The original demands of the peasants had been purely agrarian. But their final programme, as drawn up at Memmingen in March, 1525, showed the influence of the followers of Carlstadt and also of the citizens of the smaller towns, some of which had joined the movement. The peasants demanded the right to choose their own pastors ; the abolition of small tithes, not of the great tithe of corn which was to be used to support the pastors, of serfage, restrictions on hunting, fishing and the supply of wood for fuel ; only services rendered by their forefathers were to be required, and wages were to be paid for any additional services ; rent was to be fairly adjusted ; punishment for crimes to be fixed and common land restored to the commoners ; death dues, payable to the feudal lord, were to be abolished. Any article shown to be contrary to the Word of God was to be null and void.

C. Later demands.

As the movement spread political demands were made. The sovereign power of the people was asserted and the

Emperor was to be their minister ; liberty, fraternity and equality were proclaimed ; the people claimed the right of electing state officials and of accepting or rejecting the authority of the princes.

The influence of the towns was seen in the demands for the abolition of tolls, the limitation of merchants' capital, the standardising of money, weights and measures. In some towns communes were established.

II. The Course of the Revolt.

A. The spread of the revolt.

June, **1524**. The revolt broke out at Stühlingen because Countess von Lupfen had required her husband's tenants to spend a holiday gathering snail shells on which she might wind her wool.

The nobles were caught at a disadvantage because all available troops had been sent to resist the French in Italy.¹

During the winter of **1524-1525** the movement spread around Lake Constance and in Upper Swabia, and, under Zwingli's influence, some peasants took the Bible as their banner.

March, **1525**. The Articles of Memmingen mark the adhesion of the smaller towns.

April, **1525**. Although the attempt of Ulrich, "Utz the Peasant," to recover his Duchy of Würtemberg with the help of the peasants had failed, the revolt had spread over most of Western and Southern Germany (but not Bavaria).

April 17th, **1525**. Murder of Count von Helfenstein and other nobles at Weinsberg by extremists under Jäcklein Rohrbach.

By this time many towns had joined the movement. Götz von Berlichingen was appointed military commander and a number of knights gave their support. The nobles of Franconia, the Bishops of Bamberg and

¹ Page 133.

Spires, and Casimir, Margrave of Brandenburg, were obliged to come to terms with the peasants.

B. The suppression of the revolt.

The battle of Pavia¹ on February 24th, **1525**, established the Imperial power in Italy and strengthened the government in Germany.

April 4th, **1525**. The Swabian League defeated the peasants at Leipheim.

May 12th, **1525**. Truchsess, the general of the Swabian League, captured Weinsberg and roasted Rohrbach alive.

May 15th, **1525**. Philip of Hesse routed Münzer at Frankenhausen. Execution of Münzer.

Götz von Berlichingen and many of his men gave up the cause of the peasants and returned home.

June, **1525**. Truchsess captured Ingolstadt. Florian Geyer slain soon after.

June 8th, **1525**. Truchsess captured Würzburg and relieved the castle of Frauenberg, where the peasants were besieging the Bishop of Würzburg. Having thus crushed the revolt in Franconia, Truchsess and Frundsberg put down the rising in Upper Swabia.

In the Tyrol the leader of the peasants, Gaismayr, had received a promise of support from Francis I against the Hapsburgs. The revolt lasted longer than in other parts of Germany, but was finally crushed in July, **1526**.

III. General.

A. The nature of the revolt.

The revolt may be regarded either as the last of similar movements of the Middle Ages or as the first expression of modern democracy. In so far as it attempted to establish on better conditions the old social system it was reactionary. As an assertion of democracy it was premature, for the peasants were incapable of putting

¹ Page 133.

into practice the theories they advanced, and their success would have led to anarchy. It was suppressed partly because the peasants could not withstand the well-equipped soldiers of Philip of Hesse and Truchsess, whose artillery did great execution.

B. Hostility of the Middle Class.

The peasants, though supported by some of the smaller towns, failed to get the general support of the middle class.

C. Luther.

Luther, who disliked the extreme views of the peasant leaders, which he thought would prejudice the cause of the Reformation, and who denied that his doctrines could be applied to politics, opposed the peasants. He declared, "The ass will have blows, and the people will be ruled by force." He urged their opponents to "stab and kill and strangle" the peasants.

D. The Princes.

The revolt revealed more clearly the inefficiency of the Council of Regency and the importance of the princes. Luther was now compelled to rely upon the princes, and this fact profoundly affected the course of the Reformation in Germany.

Reference :

Cambridge Modern History, Vol. II, chap. vi.

FROM THE DIET OF WORMS TO THE FORMATION OF THE SCHIMALKALDIC LEAGUE, 1522-1531

The progress of the Reformation was assisted by the absence from Germany of Charles V, who spent the years from 1522-1529 in Spain ; by the complications arising from the relations of

Charles with the Popes, the French and the Turks, which prevented him from giving his whole attention to the Reformation ; by the strong Lutheran sympathies of many members of the Council of Regency ; by the youth and inexperience of Ferdinand of Austria and the strong influence of Frederick of Saxony.

I. Reform and the Edict of Worms.

The Popes were anxious that the Edict of Worms, which put Luther to the Ban of the Empire, should be enforced. The demand for the reform of admitted abuses was steadily growing, and popular feeling in favour of Luther had become so strong in Germany that it made the enforcement of the Edict difficult if not dangerous.

A. Adrian VI, 1522-1523.

Adrian of Utrecht, formerly tutor of Charles V and Viceroy of Spain after the departure of Charles in 1520,¹ succeeded Leo X in January, 1522. He had no sympathy with the Renaissance, was sincerely anxious to reform abuses : " Let the Pope and the Curia do away their errors by which God and man are justly offended ; let them bring the clergy once more under discipline. If the Germans see this done, there will be no further talk of Luther. The root and cure of the evil are alike in ourselves."

At the Diet of Nuremberg, in January, 1523, the Papal Legate, Chieregati, denounced Luther as worse than the Turk ; but the Diet refused his request that Lutheran preachers should be sent to Rome for trial ; refused to enforce the Edict of Worms because the Pope had admitted the existence of abuses to which Luther had called attention ; demanded that a Free Council, including laymen as well as clergy, should meet in Germany, to reform the Church and that German annates should be used for German national purposes.

¹ Page 28.

B. Clement VII, 1523-1534.

Giulio de' Medici became Pope Clement VII in November, 1523, and, although the interests of his family were his main concern, sent Campeggio to meet the Diet at Nuremberg in March, 1524. His presence aroused hostile demonstrations in the cities. The Diet demanded that a National Council should meet at Spire in November, and promised to enforce the Edict only "as well as they were able and as far as was possible."

II. The Catholic Meeting at Ratisbon, June, 1524.**A. Reason for the meeting.**

The prospect of a German National Council alarmed both Pope Clement and Charles V, because it would probably prove more effective than a General Council and might establish a German Church independent of Rome, and a national government independent of the Emperor. Charles prohibited the proposed meeting at Spire and urged Clement to summon a General Council.

B. The members.

Clement, unwilling to call a General Council, instructed Campeggio to call a meeting at Ratisbon of the Catholic princes. Dukes William and John of Bavaria and Ferdinand of Austria had recently received from Adrian VI a grant of one-fifth of Church revenues in their duchies; these three dukes and the leading bishops of Southern Germany attended the meeting. No electors, lay or spiritual, no representatives of the Imperial cities, were present.

The Assembly decided to enforce the Edict of Worms and condemned the teaching of Luther, but advocated the reform of abuses, e.g. the limitation of clerical fees, the diminution of saints' days, the improvement of the character of the clergy.

C. The importance of the meeting.

- (1) The meeting marks the division of Germany into two parties. The alliance of Austria and Bavaria secured the position of Roman Catholicism in Southern Germany. The union of the Catholics was soon followed by a union of Protestants. It was no longer possible to make a national settlement of the Reformation ; the Empire was broken into two parts.
- (2) The meeting anticipated the Counter Reformation by attempting to reform the Church from within.

III. The Formation of a Lutheran Party.

The failure of the knights and the peasants and the inefficiency of the Council of Regency compelled Luther to rely upon the princes, and the Reformation became more and more secular.

Luther's protector, Frederick, "the Wise," of Saxony, had become a Lutheran in 1524. His brother John, "the Steadfast," who became Elector of Saxony in 1525, was a Lutheran, and Philip of Hesse, "the Magnanimous," accepted Lutheranism in the same year. Albert of Brandenburg, the last Grand Master of the Teutonic Order, was a Lutheran ; in 1525, by Luther's advice, he secularised the lands of the Order and became first Duke of Prussia. The Dukes of Mecklenburg, Pomerania, Würtemberg and Brunswick, the Counts of Mansfield, and the Imperial cities of Nuremberg, Frankfort, Strasburg and Augsburg adopted the new doctrines, which gained many converts in the kingdoms of Denmark and Sweden.

March, 1526. Philip of Hesse, in opposition to the Catholic League of Dessau, formed in July, 1525, by Duke George of Saxony, the Electors Joachim of Brandenburg and Albert, Archbishop of Mainz, formed the Protestant League of Torgau. Philip failed to secure the adhesion of Switzerland, but realised the importance of maintaining friendly relations with Denmark and other Lutheran powers in the North.

IV. The First Diet of Spires, June, 1526.

Charles V was now seriously hampered by the League of Cognac; ¹ Ferdinand was at variance with John Zapoyla for the crown of Hungary; the Turks were threatening the eastern frontiers. The Lutherans made a good use of the opportunity thus afforded.

At the First Diet of Spires in June, 1526, the members refused to enforce the Edict of Worms; demanded a National Council and resolved that, pending its meeting, every prince "should so conduct himself with regard to the Edict of Worms as he should answer for it towards God and the Emperor." This was the famous "Recess"² of Spires.

Thus the principle of separatism as opposed to nationalism, which had long been asserted by the princes in politics, was now applied to religion, and the impotence of the Emperor to unite the religious parties was made manifest.

[August 28th, 1526. Suleiman defeated and killed Lewis of Hungary at Mohacz.]

V. The Second Diet of Spires, February, 1529.

A. Changing conditions.

By the Second Diet of Spires the Reformers found themselves in a less favourable position. Ferdinand of Austria had defeated his rival John Zapoyla at Tokay in August and been crowned King of Hungary in November, 1527, thus founding the Austro-Hungarian state; Lutheranism spread rapidly in the north, owing to the active support of the Elector of Saxony and to the effect of Luther's hymns (*Ein feste Burg ist unser Gott* was written in 1527), New Testament and Catechism published in 1529. The Catholics were alarmed, and to meet the offensive measures which Ferdinand of Austria,

¹ Page 135.

² A "Recess" was the collection of Decrees passed by a Diet and approved by the Emperor.

Joachim of Brandenburg and Duke George of Saxony were said, wrongly, to be preparing, Philip of Hesse mobilised his forces in March, 1528. Luther's influence averted war. Charles V concluded the Treaty of Barcelona with Clement VII in July, 1529.¹ Differences of opinion between Luther and Zwingli, whose views were more democratic, weakened the unity of the Reformers.

B. The Diet of Spires, February, 1529.

The Diet was reactionary ; it revoked the Recess of 1526, forbade further innovations in religion and absolutely refused any toleration to the Zwinglians.

C. The Protestants.

John, Elector of Saxony ; George, Margrave of Brandenburg ; the two Dukes of Brunswick ; Philip, Landgrave of Hesse ; Prince Wolfgang of Anhalt and fourteen cities, including Strasburg, Constance and St. Gall, signed a protest against the revocation of the Recess and were therefore called Protestants. "We fear the Emperor's ban, but we fear still more God's curse."

The skill of Philip of Hesse had induced Lutheran princes and Zwinglian towns to combine in the protest which was rejected by the Emperor. In anticipation of attack by the Emperor the Protestants met at Schmalkalde in December, 1529, but Luther again successfully opposed warlike preparations.

Another Turkish invasion of Hungary was checked in October, 1529, by the successful resistance of Vienna, but only after it had ensured the authority of Zapoyla over much of Hungary. This grave danger prevented Charles from crushing the Protestants ; "the Turk was the ally of the Reformation, which might have been crushed without his assistance."

¹ Page 139.

VI. The Diet of Augsburg, June, 1530.**A. Growing differences among the Reformers.**

The differences between Luther, whose attitude was theological and mediæval, and Zwingli, who was a democratic humanist, divided the Reformers, in spite of the statesman-like efforts of Philip of Hesse to avoid division. The final breach arose on the question of the Eucharist, which Luther explained as Consubstantiation, but Zwingli declared to be merely a feast of commemoration.

B. Confession of Augsburg, June 25th, 1530.

Luther and Melanchthon therefore tried to bring about a reconciliation with the Catholics, and Melanchthon prepared the Confession of Augsburg for presentation to the Diet of Augsburg, which the Ban of the Empire prevented Luther from attending.

In the Confession of Augsburg the doctrine of Justification by Faith was asserted with some qualifications, the paying of honour to Saints was not absolutely forbidden, the supremacy of the Pope was not absolutely denied. But Communion in both kinds and the marriage of the clergy were accepted and the validity of monastic vows and private Masses was denied.

Charles V, strengthened by successes in France, Spain and Italy, refused to accept the Confession. Melanchthon was willing to make further concessions, but John of Saxony and Philip of Hesse absolutely refused. By the Recess of Augsburg in September, 1530, Charles declared that he would enforce the Edict of Worms, gave the Lutherans six months to return to the Catholic Church on pain of extirpation. The Diet, fearing that war would make the Emperor too strong, reorganised the Imperial Chamber, which became a powerful weapon against Lutheranism.

VII. The Schmalkaldic League.

Hitherto Luther had strongly resisted any appeal to arms. But at a meeting at Schmalkalde in December, **1530**, he was won over by the lawyers, who urged that as the Emperor was elected he could be resisted by the Electors if he failed to keep the Capitulations¹ he had sworn to accept at his election. Thus the Lutherans accepted the idea that "the Empire was a federated aristocracy of independent sovereigns."

For their protection the Lutherans, in March, **1531**, formed the Schmalkaldic League for mutual defence; the League had its own Diet, and its own forces led by John of Saxony and Philip of Hesse. South Germany, strongly influenced by Zwingli, refused to join, but after the defeat and death of Zwingli at Kappel (October 11th, **1531**) Switzerland was divided between the Catholics and Protestants, and many South German towns sought protection by joining the League.

With the formation of the Schmalkaldic League the first period of the Reformation ends. It had been mainly a period of argument as to Church doctrine and discipline. The second was to be a period of political intrigue; the third, from **1546-1555**, was a period of war.

References :

Europe in the Sixteenth Century (Johnson), Rivingtons, chaps. II-IV.

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Lectures on European History (Stubbs), Longmans, Lecture V.

A History of European Diplomacy (D. J. Hill), Longmans, Vol. II, chap. vi, Section 1.

FROM THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE SCHMAIKALDIC LEAGUE TO THE PEACE OF CRÉPY, 1531-1544

I. The Position of Parties in 1532.

A. The Schmalkaldic League.

The Schmalkaldic League was now supreme in Northern Germany; it was ready to intrigue with other nations—France, Venice, England, even the Turks—to prevent the Emperor from crushing Protestantism.

B. Charles V.

January 5th, **1531**. Charles secured the election of Ferdinand as King of the Romans in spite of the opposition of John of Saxony. But the Catholic princes opposed the supremacy of the Emperor no less than the Protestants, and the Dukes of Bavaria strongly resented the growth of the power of the Hapsburgs; Suleiman was again attacking the East; Barbarossa was threatening Italy. Charles was unable to take strong measures against the Protestants.

The Protestant princes were encouraged by the discovery of the weakness of the Emperor, and Charles V had "brought to a crisis the inherent conflict between mediævalism and modernism, between the pretensions of universal authority and local freedom, between the conception of Imperial supremacy inherited from ancient Rome and territorial rights and liberties as conceived by modern nations."¹

July 23rd, **1532**. At the Diet of Nüremberg, Charles agreed to give the Protestants peace until a General Council met and, at the Diet of Ratisbon, to summon an Imperial Council in six months if the Pope refused to call a General Council of the Church.

¹ Dr. Hill.

August, 1532. The moderate Germans of both sides united against Suleiman, who, by the successful defence of Güns, was compelled to retreat. Instead of pursuing the Turks, Charles now left Germany to avert the proposed alliance between Clement VII and Francis I, leaving Ferdinand to represent him in Germany.

II. Würtemberg, 1534.

May, 1534. Philip of Hesse, assisted by Francis I, routed Ferdinand at Lauffen, compelled him to agree to the Peace of Cadan, which quashed all proceedings against the Protestants in the Imperial Chamber, and restored Ulrich to the Duchy of Würtemberg, which since 1519 had been held by Ferdinand.

Thus Protestantism was strengthened in Southern Germany and the power of the Hapsburgs was weakened.

III. The Anabaptists at Münster, 1534-1535.

The dependence of Lutheranism upon the princes, its failure to secure the reform of moral, social and political abuses, Luther's rigid theology, and particularly his doctrine of predestination, had not satisfied extreme reformers. These endeavoured to carry the Reformation further, and the Anabaptist outbreak at Münster was one of the results of that effort.

Led by Jan of Leyden, who claimed to be the King of the Fifth Monarchy of the Apocalypse, they seized Münster, expelled or executed their opponents, proclaimed the imminence of the Second Advent, advocated community of goods, simplicity and uniformity of apparel, and introduced polygamy. They were suppressed with great cruelty by Philip of Hesse, who captured Münster and executed Jan of Leyden and his supporter Knipperdollinck in June, 1535.

IV. The Growing Strength of Protestantism.**A. The Schmalkaldic League, 1535.**

Recent years had seen an increase in the power of the Protestants. John Frederick, who succeeded his father John as Elector of Saxony in **1532**, was a strong Protestant. Würtemberg was now Protestant, and, together with Holstein, Pomerania, Anhalt and the towns of Augsburg, Frankfort and Hamburg, had joined the Schmalkaldic League on its reorganisation in **1535**. Francis I joined the League; Henry VIII became its protector.

The differences between the Zwinglians and Lutherans were temporarily reconciled by Luther at Wittenberg in **1536**, but continued seriously to weaken the Protestants.

B. The League of Nüremberg, June, 1538.

This was a Catholic League formed to resist the Schmalkaldic League, and including Charles V, Ferdinand, the Archbishop of Mainz, whom Luther called "the devil of Mainz," and the Dukes of Saxony, Bavaria and Brunswick.

C. Difficulties of the Hapsburgs.

1538. Agreement between Ferdinand and Zapoyla led to further danger from Suleiman, who regarded Zapoyla as his vassal.

1539. Revolt of Ghent.¹

D. Protestant successes.

1539. Death of the Catholic Duke George of Saxony. His brother and successor Duke Henry was a Protestant.

1539. Joachim II of Brandenburg, who had succeeded his Catholic father Joachim I in **1535**, became a Protestant.

1541. The Reformation in Brandenburg received Imperial sanction.

¹ Page 149.

V. Philip of Hesse, 1540.**Bigamy.**

Philip of Hesse, hopelessly at variance with his wife, married again while his first wife was alive, on March 4th, 1540, with the approval of Luther, Melanchthon and Bucer.

Strong condemnation of Philip's bigamy, especially by John Frederick of Saxony and Ulrich of Würtemberg. Philip therefore made overtures to Charles V.

VI. Diet of Ratisbon, 1541.

Attempt of the moderate Catholics to effect a reconciliation with the Protestants; agreement reached between Melanchthon and Eck on some doctrinal questions. But the Pope's supremacy and the question of Sacraments proved insuperable obstacles, and reconciliation, which would have made Charles V master of united Germany, was opposed for political reasons by the Pope, Francis I and the German princes, who were jealous of the Hapsburgs.

The Protestants secured the further postponement of the Recess of Augsburg.

At the Diet of Ratisbon "the last chance of a reconciliation between the two religious parties was wrecked on political rivalries."¹ The failure ensured the disruption of Germany, for Charles could not coerce Wittenberg or Rome.

VII. Dangerous Position of the Emperor.**A. Further Protestant successes.****(1) Brunswick.**

1542. The Schmalkaldic League defeated Duke Henry of Brunswick, the only important Catholic Prince now remaining except the Duke of Bavaria. Henry, in spite of the recent suspension of the Recess of Augs-

¹ Johnson.

burg, had tried to reduce the towns of Brunswick and Goslar. The League seized the Duchy of Brunswick, which became Lutheran.

(2) Cologne.

Hermann von Wied, Archbishop and Elector of Cologne, accepted Lutheranism and proposed to secularise his Archbishopric.

B. Francis I declared war early in 1541; Ferdinand was routed by Suleiman at Buda, August, 1541; the expedition against Barbarossa had failed;¹ Denmark, Sweden and the Duke of Cleves supported Francis I.

C. The Lutherans support Charles V.

(1) Cleves and Cologne.

Philip of Hesse, won over by Charles V, who was now defending Germany against foreign foes, prevented the admission to the Schmalkaldic League of Denmark, Sweden and Cleves.

September 6th, 1543. William of Cleves submitted to Charles, who was thus able to check the extension of Lutheranism in Cologne.

(2) The Diet of Spires, 1544.

In order to secure their further help Charles promised the Protestants to make a national settlement of the religious question independent of the Pope and to suspend legal proceedings against them.

Denmark deserted France; the Protestant princes sent some troops to help Charles and did not help Francis I.

(3) Success of Charles.

By the Peace of Crépy,² Charles made peace with Francis I. He had extricated himself from his difficulties because the Protestants patriotically supported him against foreign foes.

¹ Page 150.

² Page 153.

References :

Europe in the Sixteenth Century (Johnson), Rivingtons, chaps. II-IV.

Cambridge Modern History, Vol. II, chaps. v, VI, VII.

Lectures on European History (Stubbs), Longmans, Lecture V.

History of European Diplomacy (D. J. Hill), Longmans, Vol. II, chap. VI, Section 1.

THE SCHMALKALDIC WAR AND THE DIET OF AUGSBURG

I. Events Leading up to the War.

A. The position of the Emperor.

Charles had been compelled between **1526** and **1544** to make concessions to the Protestants owing to the need of uniting Germany against foreign foes ; the Peace of Cr py in **1544**, and a treaty between Ferdinand and Suleiman in **1545**, left Charles, who had persecuted Reformers in Spain and the Netherlands, free to crush the Reformation in Germany.

B. The Death of Luther, February 18th, **1546**.

- (1) Luther had " fired the train " of the Reformation and the Protestant religion rests upon the principles of Justification by Faith, and the Priesthood of all believers which he asserted. He roused the national spirit of Germany by his opposition to the Pope, and his translation of the Bible fixed the German language. Lutheranism owed its success to the support of the princes ; it was therefore oligarchic. Lutheranism was also, to some extent, conservative because Luther was attached to many of the old ceremonies of the Roman Catholic Church. Luther's success was therefore limited to Germany and Scandinavia, and Lutheranism was not adequate to meet the needs of democratic teachers like Zwingli, who had little sympathy with the past.

- (2) Luther's actions were inconsistent. When the peasants asserted the equality of man he denounced them ; he asserted the right of every Christian to freedom of belief, but refused to admit his opponents' right to such freedom ; his condonation of the bigamy of Philip of Hesse weakened the moral force of the Reformation.
- (3) But although Luther's actions were sometimes inconsistent with his theories, "it is not inexact to say that [he] was, in point of fact, the restorer of liberty to the ages which followed his era."¹
- (4) Perhaps Luther's most striking quality was his splendid courage ; he was a man of sincere piety and kindly disposition. But he weakened his cause by undue violence, and the coarseness and scurrility with which he attacked his enemies gave pain to his best friends. In spite of all faults he remains one of the heroic figures of European history.

II. The Emperor's Skilful Diplomacy.

The Council of Trent met in December, 1545 ; it was attended mainly by Spanish and Italian prelates. The Papal party maintained that the authority of the Pope was superior to that of a General Council and refused to alter the established doctrine of the Church ; the Imperial supporters held that the Council was superior to the Pope and deprecated doctrinal discussion which might hamper negotiations with the Protestant princes. But common hostility to Protestantism led Charles and Paul III to make an alliance on July 7th, 1546, by which the Pope promised the Emperor military and financial help in the impending war.

The Emperor was compelled to proceed with caution, and before striking a blow took advantage of the divisions that weakened the Schmalkaldic League to win over some of the Protestant princes.

¹ Michelet, *The Life of Luther*, G. Bell and Son.

A. Duke Henry of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel.

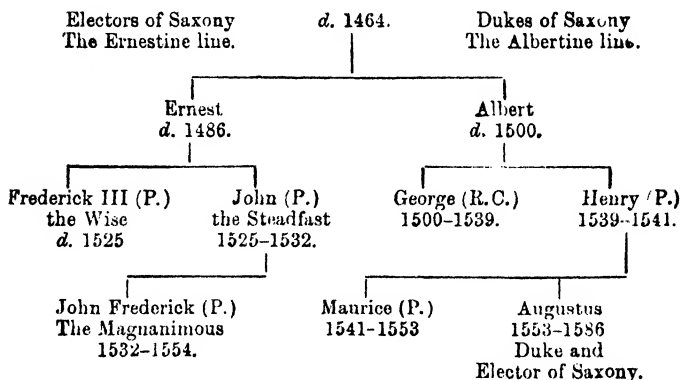
The imprisonment by the Schmalkaldic League of Duke Henry, who had tried to regain his duchy, led his relatives John, Margrave of Brandenburg-Küstrin, Duke Eric of Brandenburg-Calenberg, and Albert Alcibiades of Brandenburg-Culmbach to desert the League and join Charles.

B. Duke William III of Bavaria.

The Catholic Duke of Bavaria was conciliated by the marriage of his son to Ferdinand's daughter with a possible succession to Bohemia.

C. Duke Maurice of Saxony.

FREDERICK II OF SAXONY.



Duke Maurice, the son-in-law of Philip of Hesse, seeing the weakness of the Schmalkaldic League, made terms, in June, **1546**, with Charles, who promised him the Electorate of Saxony, held by John Frederick; sacrificed the absolute supremacy of the Church by giving Maurice immunity from the decrees of the Council of Trent; and promised him the bishoprics of Merseburg and Meissen as hereditary duchies.

III. The Schmalkaldic War, 1546.

The death of Luther, always a strong opponent of military measures, in February, **1546**, made war more certain.

Charles felt bound to fight, for Lutheranism was spreading rapidly, and the spread of Lutheranism meant the weakening of Imperial authority. The Venetian ambassador asserted, "If the Emperor does not succeed in bringing the Protestants to reason, it will be necessary for him to remain in Germany or the Netherlands; for, in case he withdraws, the common opinion is that novelties prejudicial to him may be introduced into these last-named provinces, which are already to a great extent infected with Lutheranism."¹

Charles, in July, **1546**, at the Diet of Ratisbon, put to the Ban of the Empire those who refused to obey the decrees of the Imperial Chamber and prepared to secure the submission of the princes, with the help of skilled troops from Spain and Italy. Nominally his object was political, and he depended on the alliance of some Protestant princes. But by this time the territorial power of the princes was inextricably bound up with the cause of the Reformation, and the success of Charles would have ruined both.

A. The success of Charles.

Charles' immediate object was to isolate John Frederick of Saxony and Philip of Hesse, who, with Duke Ulrich of Würtemberg and the cities of Augsburg, Strasburg, Ulm and Constance, were the only members of the Schmalkaldic League who took up arms. The League had superior forces, but their chance of success, which depended on prompt action, was ruined by the dilatory tactics of John Frederick.

(1) The conquest of Saxony and the South.

December, **1546**. Maurice overran the Electorate of Saxony. His success helped the Emperor in the

¹ Dr. Hill, Vol. II, page 466.

south, where, with the exception of Constance, the cities, whose Zwinglian sympathies were opposed to the Lutheran views of the rest of the Schmalkaldic League, submitted.

(2) Cologne.

February 25th, 1546. Hermann von Wied, the Protestant Archbishop of Cologne, resigned, and his successor re-established Catholicism.

B. The reconquest of Saxony.

December, 1546. His growing enmity against Paul III prevented Charles from helping Maurice. John Frederick easily recovered the Electorate of Saxony and overran most of Maurice's Duchy of Saxony.

[March, 1547. Removal of the Council of Trent to Bologna against the wish of Charles V.]

C. Capture of John Frederick and Philip of Hesse.

April 24th, 1547. John Frederick routed and captured by Charles at Mühlberg. The Electorate of Saxony given to Maurice.

June 20th, 1547. Submission and imprisonment of Philip of Hesse. Great indignation at his imprisonment. His friends asserted that Charles had promised that he should be kept "without any imprisonment";¹ Charles that he had only said "without perpetual imprisonment."²

Charles was now absolute master of Germany except Constance and the Baltic lands.

IV. The Treaty of Passau, 1552.

A. The Interim.

The new quarrel between Charles and Paul III³ hampered the Emperor, but he re-established the Imperial Chamber, added the Netherlands to the Circles⁴

¹ Ohne ewigen Gefängniss.

² Page 155.

³ Ohne einigen Gefängniss

⁴ Page 112.

and made a treaty for five years with Suleiman. On May 19th, 1548, the "Armed Diet" of Augsburg accepted the Interim, which reasserted the universality and indivisibility of the Church, the seven sacraments and the doctrine of Transubstantiation, but allowed the legality of clerical marriages and, to some extent, the doctrine of Justification by Faith.

By the Interim Charles recognised the need of reform, but altered important points of doctrine without consulting the Pope or any Church Council. It was an attempt to reconcile both parties, but the Catholics resented the alteration of doctrine and the disregard of the Pope; while the Protestants regarded Charles' concessions as inadequate.

B. Maurice makes an Alliance with Henry II.

Charles now roused much feeling by his attempt to enforce the Interim by the help of Spanish troops and to secure the reversion of the Empire for his son Philip. Maurice of Saxony therefore changed sides, mainly through fear that Charles would make the power of the monarchy supreme, partly because Charles, fearing to make Maurice too strong, had not given him all that he expected.

1552. Treaty of Alliance made at Chambord between Maurice and the Schmalkaldic League with Henry II,¹ who had resumed the traditional French policy of hostility to the Hapsburgs.

C. The Treaty of Passau, 1552.

August 2nd, 1552. The military success of Maurice, the pressure of French diplomacy, disappointment at his failure to secure the Empire for Philip and failing health, compelled Charles to agree temporarily to the Treaty of Passau, by which he promised the Protestants the free exercise of their religion, released John Frederick and Philip of Hesse, but insisted that the final settle-

¹ Page 156.

ment of the religious question must be made at a Diet. The treaty was a success for the moderate party of the German princes.

His defeat at Metz,¹ his difficulties in Italy,² the conquest of Transylvania by the young Zapöyla, prevented Charles from breaking the treaty.

D. The Death of Maurice of Saxony.

July 9th, 1553. Death of Maurice, at the age of thirty-two, at Sieverhausen.

He cared little for religion, but his adroit, if unscrupulous, statesmanship was an important cause of the establishment of Protestantism. The Electorate of Saxony was given to Maurice's brother Augustus.

[July, 1554. Marriage of Philip (II) and Mary of England.]

V. The Religious Peace of Augsburg, 1555.

Charles, weary of the struggle, left to Ferdinand the final settlement, and the concessions of Ferdinand meant the virtual abdication of Charles V in Germany. Protestants and Catholics had united to oppose the succession of Philip to the Empire, which would have tended to concentrate all the Hapsburg territories under one King; they now closed a struggle of which they were weary by agreeing to differ on religious questions.

A. The Terms.

(1) The Imperial Chamber.

Catholics and Protestants to be equally represented in the Imperial Chamber.

(2) Secularisation of ecclesiastical property.

All such property secularised before the Treaty of Passau to remain secularised, but no more was to be secularised.

¹ Page 157.

² Page 158.

(3) Religious toleration.

The Protestants demanded religious liberty for all Protestants, including those living in Catholic states. The Catholics refused to agree to this, and it was agreed that every secular prince or Imperial city should determine whether Lutheranism or Catholicism should be adopted within their jurisdiction. *Cujus regio, ejus religio*.

(4) Ecclesiastical reservation.

The Protestants demanded that ecclesiastical princes should have the same right as lay princes of determining the religion of their territories. The Catholics absolutely refused to agree, and by the "ecclesiastical reservation" any ecclesiastical prince who became a Protestant was to lose his territory and position.

B. Criticism.

- (1) The Peace of Augsburg represents the final failure of "the attempt of Charles to re-establish the unity of the Church on the basis of a revived Empire of the West."¹

The old idea of the relations of Church and State was shattered. The Reformation led to the foundation of the first Church that was independent of Rome and ensured the triumph of the principle of Territorialism "which ruined the Empire, captured the Reformation, crushed the municipal independence of the cities and lowered the status of the peasants."² The attempt of Charles "to unify the Church by localising the Lutheran movement until he could find a means of defeating it altogether" had utterly failed.

- (2) It gave religious toleration to the princes only. Their subjects did not obtain freedom of conscience, but

¹ Johnson.

² *Cambridge Modern History*, Vol. II, page 279.

were obliged to accept the religion of their Prince. It substituted the despotism of the princes for the despotism of the Roman Catholic Church.

- (3) The "ecclesiastical reservation" was regarded by the Protestants as an act of cowardice, which tended to strengthen the power of the Hapsburgs. It undoubtedly helped to maintain Catholicism on the Rhine.
- (4) Calvinists were not included.

The Religious Peace of Augsburg was only a truce formed because all were tired of fighting. Its failure to make a final settlement was one of the causes of the Thirty Years' War.

[Charles V resigned Italy and the Netherlands to Philip in October, 1555; Spain to Philip in January, 1556; the Empire to Ferdinand in September, 1556. "Thus the vast power of the Hapsburgs, which had threatened Europe with the revival of a universal monarchy, was at last divided into two parts, still to intimidate the world with the possibility of their reunion, but never in fact to be reunited."¹

September 21st, 1558. Death of Charles V at Yuste.]

References :

Europe in the Sixteenth Century (Johnson), Rivingtons, pp. 220-252.

Lectures on European History (Stubbs), Longmans, Lectures VIII, IX.

Cambridge Modern History, Vol. II, chap. viii.

Life of Luther (Michelet), G. Bell and Sons.

A History of European Diplomacy (D. J. Hill), Longmans, Vol. II, chap. vi, Section 3.

¹ Dr. Hill.

CHARLES V, 1500-1559¹

I. Life.

The son of Joanna, daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella, and the Archduke Philip, son of the Emperor Maximilian.

February 24th, 1500. Born at Ghent.

He was taught by Adrian of Utrecht, but he derived little benefit from book learning. He owed much to the lessons in statecraft he received from his aunt, Margaret of Austria, the Governess of the Netherlands, and Chièvres.

1517-1520. In Spain.

1521. Presided at the Diet of Worms.

1522 (April). Battle of Bicocca, conquest of Milan; (June) Treaty of Windsor with Henry VIII.

1522-1529. In Spain.

1525. Battle of Pavia.

1526 (January). Treaty of Madrid with Francis I; Charles married Isabella of Portugal; (May) League of Cognac; Diet of Spires.

1527 (May). Sack of Rome.

1529. Second Diet of Spires; the "Protest"; (July) Treaty of Barcelona with Clement VII; (August) Peace of Cambray with Francis I.

1530. Charles returned to Germany; Confession of Augsburg.

1531. Ferdinand elected King of the Romans; Schmalkaldic League properly organised.

1532. Religious Peace of Nuremberg.

1535. Expedition to Tunis.

1536. Charles invaded Provence.

1538. Truce of Nice with Francis I.

1539. Revolt of Ghent.

1540. Philip made Duke of Milan.

1542. Renewed war with Francis I.

¹ See genealogical tree, page 121.

- 1543.** Charles conquered Guelders.
- 1544.** Diet of Spires ; (April) Battle of Ceresole ; Peace of Crépy.
- 1546.** Diet of Ratisbon ; alliance with Maurice of Saxony and Pope Pius III ; outbreak of the Schmalkaldic War.
- 1547.** Death of Francis I ; (April) Battle of Mühlberg ; (August) Diet of Augsburg.
- 1548.** The Interim.
- 1552.** The Protestants make the Treaty of Chambord with Francis I ; Treaty of Passau ; Siege of Metz.
- 1554.** Marriage of Philip to Mary of England.
- 1555.** Religious Peace of Augsburg. Abdication of Charles.

September 21st, **1558.** Death of Charles at Yuste.

II. Charles and Roman Catholicism.

Charles was sincerely attached to the Roman Catholic Church and anxious to maintain its supremacy while purifying it of abuses. He declared at the Council of Worms, "What my forefathers established at Constance and other Councils it is my privilege to uphold." Where he could, as in Spain and the Netherlands, he ruthlessly used the Inquisition to stamp out heresy ; he repeatedly urged the Popes to summon a Council to reform the Church from within.

Charles would have liked to crush Lutheranism, which "made a man of the boy ruler," but he was hampered in Germany by the opposition of the princes ; the secular policy of Popes brought Charles into occasional hostility with the Papacy, which was often the ally of his enemies ; the fear of the Popes that their supremacy might be affected by a General Council made them unwilling to grant Charles' request for a General Council, and the consequent continuation of acknowledged abuses was one of the causes of the growth of the Reformation.

III. The Temporal Power of Charles.

Charles ruled over the Empire, Spain, Italy and the Netherlands. The necessity of maintaining claims which he considered just and of defending his territories involved him in continual wars with the Valois, the Popes and the Turks ; his wars are sometimes ascribed to his unbounded ambition, but Dr. Stubbs holds that his wars were largely defensive, particularly in his early years. But the success of his later policy would have resulted in absolutism.

He did much to check the grave danger from the Turks on the eastern frontiers of Germany and in the Mediterranean. "It was on Charles alone that the defence of Christendom rested ; and if his successes were not brilliant, the reality and efficiency of his defence are rather to be admired than to be deprecated."¹

A. Italy.

(1) The importance of Milan.

His determination to maintain Milan as a part of the Empire was one of the main reasons for his struggle with the Valois.

(2) The Popes.

The secular policy of the Popes often led to opposition from Charles ; it provoked the Sack of Rome in 1527 and prevented the hearty co-operation of Pope and Emperor against the Reformation.

(3) Naples and Sicily.

The possession of Naples and Sicily enabled Charles easily to pour Spanish troops into Italy and gave him a useful base of operations.

B. Germany.

Charles, who was born a Netherlander and became a Spaniard, was a foreigner in Germany and displayed a

¹ Stubbs.

conspicuous lack of sympathy with his German subjects. The "Spanish taint" he introduced into Germany lasted until the Thirty Years' War.

- (1) The attempt of Charles to establish the supremacy of the Empire roused the opposition of the princes, who aimed at independence. Separatism and Territorialism triumphed over Absolutism.
- (2) The attempt of Charles to strengthen the power of the Hapsburgs may be regarded as a separatist tendency at variance with his general policy. The aggrandisement of the Hapsburgs roused the hostility of the princes.

C. Spain.

After 1521, when he gave Austria to Ferdinand, Charles regarded Spain as the centre of his Empire. The wealth of the Indies and the troops of Spain proved of the utmost value to him, but the introduction of Spanish soldiers into Germany aggravated national opposition to Charles.

The absolute power Charles exercised in Spain and the Netherlands, where he made a great use of the Inquisition, suggests that he would have adopted a similar policy in Germany if his hands had been free.

IV. The Great Object of Charles.

Charles aimed at re-establishing "the unity of the Church on the basis of a revived Empire of the West."

A. Causes of his failure.

He failed largely because of the union of the Reformation with the cause of Territorialism in Germany. Germany was too strong for him. But he succeeded in checking the Reformation in Spain, the Netherlands and Southern Germany, and the Jesuits, who owed much to him, continued his work.

But his interests were so vast that he found it difficult to concentrate on any one plan, and not only Francis I, but the Turks, and even the Pope, by distracting the attention of Charles, assisted the cause of the Reformation.

B. Napoleon's criticism.

Napoleon asserted that Charles should have become a Protestant and founded a Protestant national monarchy in Germany. But such a course would have broken up the Empire, which Charles was determined to maintain; would probably have failed owing to the separatist policy of the princes; was impossible for so devoted a Roman Catholic as Charles, on whom Spain exercised so strong an attraction.

V. General and Personal.

- A. Although Charles had failed to accomplish an impossible task, by keeping the Empire together for forty years in spite of the greatest difficulties, he proved himself a great sovereign and a great man. "There is not one of his dominions that is not greater and richer and stronger at his death than at the beginning of his reign."¹
- B. His policy was often repressive and cruel; he persecuted wherever he was able to persecute, and where possible established absolute rule. But absolute monarchy and religious persecution were not confined to Spain or to Catholic countries, and the sixteenth century must not be judged by the standard of the twentieth.
- C. Charles was a man of untiring energy, and his policy was his own; his ministers, whom he chose wisely, were his servants. He was courageous, resolute in purpose, undaunted by failure; "a wiry pertinacity" was his leading characteristic. He lacked sentiment and rarely inspired affection.

¹ Stubbs.

- D. He was fond of display, and at Yuste lived in great style in a well-furnished house outside the monastery. He was fond of music, and made a choice collection of pictures. He was interested in mechanical work and was a skilful watchmaker.

Reference :

Lectures on European History (Stubbs), Longmans, Lecture XI.
Holy Roman Empire (Bryce). Chap. xviii.

SECTION VI

THE REFORMATION IN SWITZERLAND

ULRICH ZWINGLI, 1484–1531

Switzerland had become a country of free communities owing to its successful struggle with the Hapsburgs ;¹ the University of Basle was a great centre of Renaissance learning ; Switzerland commanded the passes of the Alps, and both Hapsburgs and Valois sought its aid. The Forest Cantons exercised predominant power in the Federal Diet and their supremacy was resented by Zurich. Under Zwingli the Reformation became a democratic, humanistic and political movement.

I. Early Life.

1484. Born at Wildhaus. Studied at Berne and Basle, and was strongly influenced by Erasmus.

1506. Became parish priest at Glarus.

1515. Went as chaplain with the Swiss who fought at Marignano,² and afterwards strongly opposed the service of Swiss mercenaries in foreign armies.

1519–1525. Curate at Zurich.

II. The Reformation at Zurich.

Zwingli preached against indulgences, monasticism, Purgatory and the Invocation of Saints, and asserted that nothing which was not commanded by Scripture was binding upon Christians. He persuaded the city Council to reject a French alliance in **1521**, and to forbid the receipt of pensions from foreign princes.

1522. In a sermon on the *Choice or Freedom of Food* he asserted the right of the individual to act according to his own opinion as derived from Scripture. The Council supported Zwingli against the Bishop of Constance, the

¹ *Notes on European History*, Part I, page 339. Page 69.

Burgomaster ordered that the pure Word of God **must** be preached and the Zwinglian Reformation began. It was Scriptural, individualistic and civic.

Zwingli afterwards developed his doctrinal position. He taught that the Church was a democracy of which all Christians were members; denied the power of the Pope and priesthood; condemned Auricular Confession and held that Confirmation and Extreme Unction were rites, not sacraments. The new doctrines were expounded in public lectures open to all.

1524. Secularisation of monasteries; their revenues devoted to education and poor relief.

1525. Abolition of the Mass.

1527. Organisation of Synods and Church Courts.

All changes were made with the approval of the Council, and the Reformation in Zurich was a "purely civic organisation." It soon spread to Basle, Berne, Schaffhausen and to some South German towns, including Ulm, Constance, Augsburg and Strasburg.

The success of Zwingli brought to Zurich Anabaptists, who hoped for freedom of worship, and encouraged the peasants to rise against tithes. But the Anabaptists were sternly suppressed and their leader was drowned. The Zurich Reformers were no more tolerant of extremists than the Germans.

III. Divisions in the Confederation.

A. Catholic opposition.

The four Forest Cantons (Lucerne, Uri, Schwyz, Unterwalden), together with Zug, were strong Roman Catholics and, while admitting the need of reform, protested against the changes made at Zurich. The Diet in **1524** declared that Church doctrine and practice were binding on all Cantons; Zurich asserted the right of each Canton to settle its own religion. It seemed likely that the division in the Diet would lead to civil war.

1529. The Reformers, led by Zurich, formed the Christian Civic League.

1529. The Catholic Cantons formed the Christian Union.

B. Both parties sought help.

(1) Zwingli and France.

Zwingli now aimed at making Zurich supreme in Switzerland, which was to be united by the bond of common religion ; the united Cantons were to limit the power of the Emperor.

Zwingli's attempts to secure the help of France and of Ulrich of Würtemberg failed owing to the defeat of Francis at Pavia¹ in **1525**, the failure of Ulrich to recover Würtemberg² and the reluctance of Francis I to oppose the Forest Cantons in **1530**.

(2) Zwingli and the Lutherans.

Zwingli differed from Luther on the questions of Purgatory, Confession and Invocation of Saints. His point of view was purely humanistic, while Luther's was, to some extent, scholastic. He had none of Luther's sympathy for long-established tradition ; he had no desire for such a General Council as the Lutherans demanded to reform the Roman Catholic Church. The chief doctrinal difference between the two arose about the Eucharist ; Luther accepted the theory of Consubstantiation, according to which the body and blood of Christ are substantially present in the bread and wine after consecration ; Zwingli asserted that the Eucharist is purely symbolical and devoid of sacramental efficiency, although a useful means of promoting social fellowship among believers.

Luther's attitude was theological ; he had no desire to take political action and would not sanction an appeal to arms. Zwingli aimed at the establishment of a democratic republic and the overthrow of the power of both Pope and Emperor.

¹ Page 134.

² Page 191.

Philip of Hesse and Zwingli were anxious to unite all Reformers against Charles V, and the former arranged for a conference between Luther and Zwingli at Marburg in September, 1529. Zwingli, in his desire for union, made many concessions, but Luther adopted an intolerant attitude, and the conference broke down on the question of Transubstantiation.

Owing to this failure the projected union of the Lutherans with the Zwinglians of South Germany and Switzerland failed, and the *Tetrapolitana*, a modified creed promulgated by Strasburg, Constance, Memmingen and Lindau, failed to reconcile the two parties.

(3) The Forest Cantons and the Hapsburgs.

The Forest Cantons concluded an alliance with the Hapsburgs.

IV. The Parsons' War.

Difficulties arose as to the right of free preaching over the Common Lands in which Zurich and the Forest Cantons had joint jurisdiction, and in May, 1531, Zurich, in order to compel the Forest Cantons to allow the Reformation to be freely preached in the Common Lands, refused to allow passage to their commerce. War broke out in October.

October 11th, 1531. Zurich routed and Zwingli slain at Kappel.

V. The Treaty of Kappel, 1531.

By the Second Treaty of Kappel¹ it was agreed that each Canton should choose its own religion; that in the Common Lands the majority should decide the religion; that the Cantons should give up foreign alliances.

The Treaty of Kappel thus broke up the Confederation and divided Switzerland into two divisions; it separated

¹ The first, made in February, 1529, had failed to avert war.

the Swiss Reformers from Southern Germany and led the South German towns to establish closer relations with the princes.

Reference :

Cambridge Modern History, Vol. II, chap. x.

JOHN CALVIN, 1509–1564

I. Early Life.

- 1509.** Born at Noyon, where his father was episcopal notary. Studied theology at Paris, where his austerity gained for him the nickname of the "Accusative Case."
- 1528.** Left Paris for Orleans, where he studied and subsequently taught law.
- 1533.** Wrote a famous rectorial address for Nicholas Cop, Rector of the University of Paris, which showed that, although not yet a Reformer, Calvin, influenced by Jacques Lefèvre, was affected by the Greek Testament of Erasmus and the sermons of Luther.
- 1534.** Was driven by persecution to Basle, where he published in **1536** the *Institute of the Christian Religion*, which he dedicated to Francis I. In the *Institute*, a literary masterpiece, he gave strict, logical expression to the doctrines of the Reformation, which he defended against criticism ; denounced priests ; asserted that the Gospel must be applied to morals, worship and polity. He rejected Transubstantiation and made the congregation and not, like Luther, the civil power of the Prince, the basis of his church.
- 1536.** Was persuaded by Farel to settle in Geneva, which had just secured municipal freedom by overthrowing the spiritual rule of its bishop and resisting the attempt of the Duke of Savoy to bring the city under his authority.

II. Calvin's First Residence in Geneva, 1536-1538.

The municipal council now exercised both spiritual and temporal power in Geneva ; it inflicted punishment for secular and ecclesiastical offences.

Calvin drew up a confession of faith, regulated worship and composed a catechism. His attempt to reform morals with the help of the city council led to such intolerable interference with the personal liberty of the people that, largely owing to the efforts of the " Libertines," or defenders of liberty, he was expelled from the city in 1538.

III. Calvin's Second Residence in Geneva, 1541-1564.

Civic strife weakened Geneva and seemed likely to give the Duke of Savoy an opportunity of re-establishing his power. The council therefore recalled Calvin, and for the rest of his life he acted as the " Protestant Pope " and made Geneva the centre of Protestantism.

A. The creation of a ministry.

Calvin established a Reformed ministry to be filled by men who claimed to be called by God. Candidates were examined by recognised ministers, approved by the city council and the people, and on institution took an oath before the council to maintain the interests of the Reformed Church and the city.

Partly to train ministers, Calvin organised religion on religious and humanistic lines, and the teaching of Theodore Beza attracted many candidates. From Geneva books supporting the Reformed faith and ministers of great ability poured into France—120 ministers went in eleven years—and rendered great help to the Huguenots.¹

¹ The French Protestants, probably so called from the German *Eingekossenen*, or confederates. It may have been a term of contempt from a small coin used in the time of Hugh Capet.

B. The Consistory.

Calvin established a Consistory of six ministers and twelve elders to regulate morals. It possessed the power of excommunication and could call upon the city council to enforce its decisions. Thus the city became a Church-State in which sin was punished as crime.

Vexatious interference in petty matters continued ; men were punished for criticising Calvin's sermons, for careless speech, for card playing. Religious persecution broke out, witches and heretics were executed ; in **1547** Gruet was executed for scepticism, and in **1553** Servetus was burned for denying the doctrine of the Trinity.

IV. The Importance of Calvin.

Calvin gave to Western Europe a religion absolutely opposed to Roman Catholicism, based on the doctrines of Grace and Predestination, and expressed with rigid logic and literary beauty. He formed a system of ecclesiastical organisation and discipline which, though democratic in tone, sometimes proved tyrannical in practice.

The preachers he trained proved most effective apostles ; his zeal for education inspired his followers to copy his example ; his prose writings helped to make the French language a literary vehicle ; his sane but powerful Commentaries stimulated Biblical study.

Calvinism proved a somewhat hard, narrow and gloomy creed. But it was virile and aggressive. It spread far more widely than Lutheranism, which was essentially German ; it had an element of catholicity and gained many converts in France, Scotland, England, Holland, New England and Western Germany.

References :

Europe in the Sixteenth Century (Johnson), Rivingtons, pp. 272-276.

Cambridge Modern History, Vol. II, chap. XI.

Essay on Calvin. Mark Pattison.

Lectures on Modern History. Acton, VI.

SECTION VII
THE REFORMATION IN FRANCE

FROM THE ACCESSION OF FRANCIS I TO THE DEATH OF FRANCIS II, 1515-1560

I. The Reformation in France.

A. Unfavourable conditions.

There was no strong movement in favour of Church Reform in France. . The religious sentiment of the country was weak and ecclesiastical abuses did not provoke such feeling as they aroused in Germany ; the Gallican Church had always been less liable to Papal authority than the German ; by the Concordat of **1516** the Church passed under the power of the King, and royal patronage checked reform from within by nominating bishops and abbots whose worldly character was inconsistent with the spirit of reform.

B. The Reformation not a national movement.

The Reformation in France did not become a really national movement ; it never secured the support of a majority. The cities, elsewhere often strongholds of the Reformation, were divided and Paris was strongly Catholic ; the French cities lacked the power of independent action which was found in German and Swiss towns, and especially in Zurich and Geneva. The Reformation won considerable support from the nobles, but " there was in them, a mocking temper, which fitted neither with the meekness of the Gospel, nor with the earnestness of political revolts."¹ There was no common feeling between townsfolk and country-folk.

C. Violent persecution.

The Huguenots were persecuted more bitterly and more continuously than any other Reformers ; twenty-

¹ Kitchin.

three were burned in Paris in six months in **1534–1535**, about 3000 Vaudois were massacred in **1545**, and 200,000 are said to have fallen in the years immediately preceding **1581**. Although they sometimes showed great cruelty to their opponents, the constancy of the Huguenots under persecution was such that their example inspired others, and thus the failure of the Reformation in France contributed to its success in other countries. Beza said that the French Reformed Church "is an anvil which has worn out many a hammer."

D. Periods of the Reformation.

(1) The Evangelical.

In the first period the Reformation was Evangelical. It was started by Jacques Lefèvre, the Father of French Protestantism, who anticipated some of Luther's views; was strengthened by the spread of Lutheranism, and owed much to the teaching of Erasmus.

(2) The Calvinistic.

At the end of the reign of Francis I the French reformers adopted Calvin's views; the Presbyterian system of Church government was established; Calvin's Confession of Faith was adopted; Lutheranism practically disappeared; the preachers from Geneva exercised great influence in France. The adoption of Calvinism gave cohesion and union to the French Reformers.

(3) The Political.

After the Tumult of Amboise, **1560**, the French Protestants, now known as Huguenots, became a political and aggressive party.

II. Francis I.

Francis I was a strong supporter of the Renaissance and was inclined at first to look with favour on the Reformation. But he was a firm believer in absolute

monarchy, and the Peasants' War and the Anabaptist risings in Germany led him to oppose the Reformation through fear that it would lead to similar movements in France. Later, owing to his contest with Charles V, his policy towards Protestantism varied. When he was negotiating with the German Protestants he adopted an attitude of toleration ; friendly relations with the Pope led to renewed persecution of the Huguenots.

There arose three parties in France : the Reforming party, which was favoured by the King's sister, Margaret of Valois, and his mistress, Anne of Etampes, after her retirement from court ; the middle party, including Francis and Catherine de' Medici, who married the Dauphin Henry in October, 1533, tried to hold the balance between the extremes and had strong sympathies with Italy ; the extreme Catholics, led by Louise of Savoy, the Dauphin Henry, his mistress, Diana of Poitiers, and Anne de Montmorency.

A. The beginning of the French Reformation.

1512. Lefèvre published a Latin translation of St. Paul's Epistles, with a commentary, in which he asserted the importance of Grace, denied Transubstantiation and condemned Indulgences.

From 1519 the movement which Lefèvre had started was stimulated by the circulation of Luther's books.

1520. Briçonnet, Bishop of Meaux and confessor of Margaret of Valois, wishing to reform the Church from within, induced Lefèvre to help him in reforming clerical abuses in his diocese.

1521. The University of Paris condemned Lutheran teaching, and the Parliament ordered that Luther's books should be destroyed.

1523. Francis I, who was opposed to the University and Parliament, saved from punishment Louis de Berquin, a gentleman of Picardy, who had kept Lutheran books contrary to the order of the Parliament.

B. Persecution.

Louise of Savoy, the King's mother, became Regent during the imprisonment in Spain which followed Francis' defeat at Pavia, February, 1525,¹ and took strong measures against the Reformers.

July, 1525. Jean Leclerc, a wool-carder of Meaux, was burnt for heresy and the Meaux preachers compelled to flee to Strasburg.

1526. De Berquin was imprisoned.

C. The King's vacillation, 1525-1534.

(1) 1526. On his return from Spain in March, 1526, Francis released de Berquin.

(2) But an outrage on a statue of the Virgin, and the demand of the clergy that he should repress Lutheranism in return for a grant, led Francis to adopt a repressive policy.

1529. De Berquin burnt.

(3) 1532. Francis, now negotiating with the German Protestants, showed more favour to the Protestants.

(4) November, 1533. Francis, now on friendly terms with Pope Clement VII, and irritated by the assertion of Justification by Faith in Cop's rectorial address,² ordered that all convicted Lutherans should be burnt.

(5) January, 1534. Francis concluded an alliance with the German Protestants and stopped the persecution of the French Reformers.

D. Persecution.

Francis was indignant because of the issue in Paris in 1534, of placards containing an offensive attack on the Mass; and frightened by the Anabaptist rising in Münster in 1535,³ the imprisonment and execution of Protestants began again.

¹ Page 134.

² Page 227.

³ Page 202.

After 1538 Francis, worn out by anxieties of State and his own irregular life, spent much of his time at Fontainebleau, where, in the company of the scholars and artists of the Renaissance, he found some compensation for the failure of his Italian schemes. The Dauphin Henry and Diana of Poitiers now became all-powerful and strongly supported all measures against the Protestants.

[1536. Death of Lefèvre. End of the Evangelical phase of the French Reformation.]

1536. Calvin's *Institute* published.]

1545. Extermination of the Vaudois; twenty-two villages burnt.

October, 1546. The "Fourteen of Meaux" burned in Paris after trial by the Parliament.

E. General.

The placards of 1534 seem to have finally turned Francis against Protestantism. But in spite of persecution the Reformed doctrines spread widely, especially when Calvinism began to make its influence felt. By the end of his reign "there was no longer a province in France, except Brittany, in which Protestantism had not acquired a foothold."

II. Henry II, 1547-1559.

Henry II recalled to court Anne de Montmorency, the Constable and the Guises, and, owing to their influence, to Diana of Poitiers and the King's own views, his reign proved a period of rigorous persecution for the Reformers. In spite of this the Reformed Church grew much stronger.

A. Persecution.

(1) La Chambre Ardente.

La Chambre Ardente was a criminal court of the Parliament first created in October, 1547, suppressed for a time owing to the jealousy of the ecclesiastical

courts and revived in **1553**. In about two years it condemned to death about one hundred people.

1553. Burning at Paris of the "Five Scholars of Lausanne" after condemnation by the Parliament. They had studied at Lausanne and had returned to spread Calvinism in France.

(2) The Inquisition.

1555. The Parliament refused to sanction the establishment of the Inquisition in France, but in **1557** the Cardinals of Lorraine, Bourbon and Châtillon were appointed by Pope Paul IV as a commission to extirpate heresy.

(3) The Peace of Câteau-Cambrésis, **1559**.¹

Was partly due to the fear aroused in Henry II by the growth of Reformed doctrines in France.

1559. Anne du Bourg arrested for advocating in the Parliament the suspension of persecution.

B. The growth of Protestantism.

(1) Growth of Churches.

From **1555-1559** many Protestant churches were founded in France owing to the efforts of the Genevan preachers.

1559. Meeting in Paris of the first Synod of the French Protestant Church. The Church was organised into Colloquies, or local assemblies, Provincial and National Synods.

(2) Notable adherents.

Before the end of the reign François d'Andelot, his brother Gaspard de Coligny, the Admiral, Antony de Bourbon, King of Navarre, and his brother Louis, Prince of Condé, had joined the Protestants. The latter were greatly strengthened by the accession of nobles of the highest rank.

July 10th, **1559**. Death of Henry II of a wound received in a tournament.

¹ Page 161

IV. Francis II, July, 1559–December, 1560.

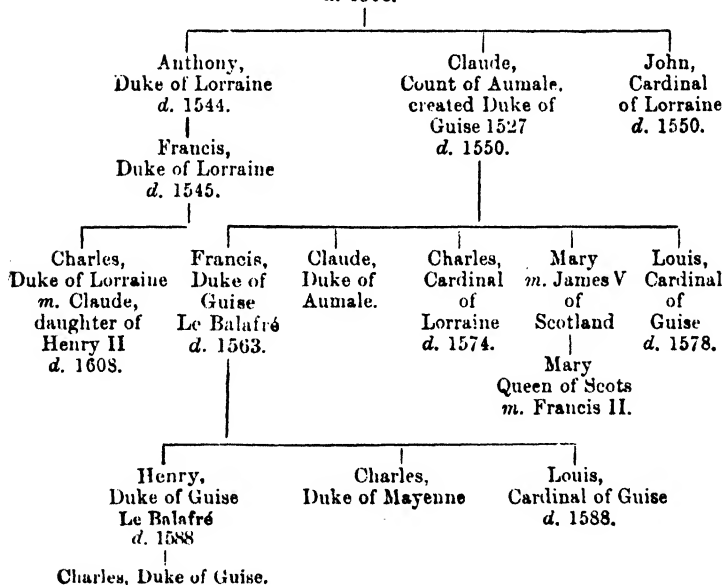
Francis II had married in April, 1558, Mary Queen of Scots, the niece of Francis, Duke of Guise. His health was bad, he was only sixteen years old, and his accession led to much intrigue owing to the desire of different parties to secure predominant power.

A. Contending Parties.

(1) The Guises.

RENÉ, DUKE OF LORRAINE

(Son of Yolande, Duchess of Lorraine and
daughter of René Le Bon)
d. 1508.



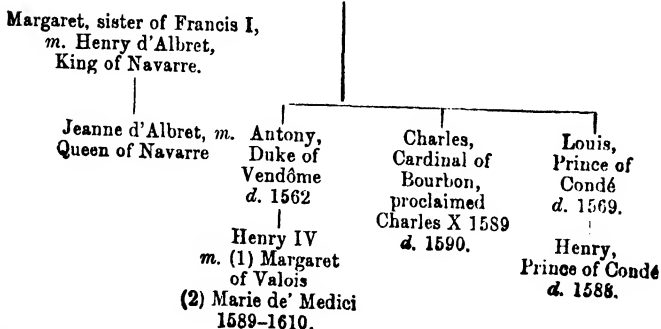
Claude, Count of Aumale, had been created Duke of Guise, Mayenne and Aumale by Francis I, and had secured the marriage of his daughter Mary to James V

of Scotland. Francis had defended Metz¹ in 1552-1553 and captured Calais in 1558. Charles, Cardinal of Lorraine, was a great ecclesiastical statesman who repressed his leaning towards Lutheranism and strongly opposed the Huguenots. The Guises, although half foreigners, could advance a claim to the throne in the female line through Yolande and asserted their descent from Charlemagne. They were the great champions of Catholicism, and thus secured the steady support of Paris. The accession of their niece, Mary Queen of Scots, to the throne of France made them supreme, and they hoped to bring England and Scotland as well as France under her rule. This scheme prevented them from securing the alliance of Philip of Spain, who had married Elizabeth of France in 1560. Although a devoted Catholic he viewed with alarm the possible union of the three countries, which would greatly strengthen France, the hereditary enemy of his house.

(2) The Bourbons.

CHARLES OF VENDÔME

(Eighth in descent from Louis IX, whose fourth son, Robert of Clermont,
m. Beatrice of Bourbon)



¹ Page 157.

Antony, King of Navarre in right of his wife, the nominal head of the Huguenots, was a weak man who desired to play a leading part in France and also to regain from Spain the whole of his kingdom of Navarre. Condé was a far stronger character. The Cardinal Charles of Bourbon remained a Catholic. The Bourbons were supported by a strong party of nobles led by the Huguenot nephews of the Constable Anne de Montmorency:—Coligny, the Admiral of France, the noblest Huguenot of them all; and his brother D'Andelot, Colonel of the Infantry. Politically the Bourbons were strong opponents of the Guises.

(3) The Constable Anne de Montmorency.

The Constable stood apart, although inclined to favour the Bourbons. He was a strong Catholic, personally obnoxious to Catherine de' Medici, anxious for active co-operation with Spain and on bad terms with the Guises.

(4) Catherine de' Medici, 1519–1559.

HENRY II, 1547–1559

m. Catherine de' Medici
d. 1589.

Francis II 1559–1560 <i>n.</i> Mary, Queen of Scots.	Charles IX 1560–1574.	Henry III 1574–1589.	Francis, Duke of Alençon and Anjou <i>d.</i> 1584.	Elizabeth <i>m.</i> Philip II of Spain <i>d.</i> 1568.	Claude <i>m.</i> Charles, Duke of Lorraine.	Margaret <i>m.</i> Henry IV.
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Catherine, who as a Florentine was unpopular in France, was anxious to secure the power Diana of Poitiers had exercised in the reign of Henry II and to use it in the interests of her worthless sons. Although a strong Catholic she was naturally inclined to toleration and anxious to protect France from Spanish aggression and make the Crown independent of all parties. But she had no party to support her

and therefore, after the death of Francis II in 1560, tried to gain her ends by intrigue, playing off Catholics against Protestants and using poison, assassination and the charms of her "flying squadron" of ladies whenever necessary. "Her court was the most immoral and unprincipled assembly of profligates that ever disgraced Christendom."¹ In spite of her undoubted cleverness, her policy, which has been called "Machiavellianism put into action," proved a failure and led to the Wars of Religion and the overthrow of the Valois.

B. The Ascendancy of the Guises.

The Guises, uncles of Queen Mary, became all-powerful. "The Cardinal is Pope and King," said the Florentine ambassador. Catherine, who was conciliated by the dismissal of her rival, Diana of Poitiers, and her enemy Montmorency, joined them and supported their policy of persecution. The Guises replaced with their own supporters many provincial governors and treated the royal princes with contempt. The discontent caused by these acts was increased by the heavy taxation imposed by the Guises, who were somewhat discredited by the failure of their sister, Mary of Guise, to maintain her position in Scotland.

December 23rd, 1559. Execution of Anne du Bourg. His speech on the scaffold led many to join the Huguenots, who regarded his execution as the prelude to a general persecution and, in spite of Calvin's opposition, prepared to take up arms.

(1) The Tumult of Amboise, March 17th, 1560.

La Renaudie, a Huguenot gentleman of Périgord, formed a plot, which Condé promised to join when its success was assured, to depose the Guises and make Condé head of the government.

¹ Stubbs.

March 17th, **1560**. The rising suppressed with great cruelty at Amboise. Death of the Chancellor Olivier owing to remorse at his share in the massacre.

The plot was both political and religious; "it marks the moment when [the Huguenots] finally became a political and aggressive party."¹

(2) Catherine's change of policy.

The bitter feeling aroused against the Guises, especially against the Cardinal, "the Tiger of France," by the cruelty at Amboise led Catherine to attempt to check their power.

a. L'Hôpital.

May, **1560**. She secured the appointment as Chancellor of the moderate and tolerant Michel de l'Hôpital, who by securing the passage of the Edict of Romorantin, which gave to bishops the power of dealing with heresy, averted the introduction of the Inquisition which the Guises advocated.

b. The Assembly of Notables.

August 21st. Catherine called an Assembly of Notables at Fontainebleau, where Coligny demanded toleration and supported the convocation of the States-General and a National Council.

(3) The Death of Francis II, **1560**.

Huguenot risings in Languedoc had frightened Catherine, who again joined the Guises. They tried to assassinate Navarre, seized Condé and condemned him to be executed on December 10th for insurrection.

December 5th, **1560**. Death of Francis II.

¹ Johnson.

THE WARS OF RELIGION, 1562-1598

CHARLES IX, 1560-1574

I. The Regency of Catherine de' Medici, 1560 1562.

A. The Position of Parties.

Charles IX was only ten years old ; Catherine became Regent, and Antony of Navarre Lieutenant-General. The ascendancy of the Guises had been broken by the death of Francis ; Catherine, now supreme, endeavoured, by the advice of the moderate L'Hôpital and with the support of Navarre and Montmorency, who returned to court, to play off the Guises against the Bourbons, to give some measure of toleration to the Huguenots and, by means of the States-General, to reform the evils of the time.

The vague sympathy which common opposition to the Guises had aroused between the Royal Princes, the Constable Montmorency and the Huguenots now ceased with the diminution of the power of the Guises ; but, on the departure of Mary Queen of Scots to Scotland in August, 1561, Philip II, realising that the danger of union between France, Scotland and England had passed, gave the Guises his support.

B. The States-General, 1561.

- (1) January, 1561. At Orleans demands were made for the reformation of the Church and the abolition of the Concordat of 1516.¹ The Third Estate advocated toleration.
- (2) August, 1561. At Pontoise plans for the reform of the judicial system were brought forward, and the Estates demanded the right of assenting to war and taxation. The Third Estate advocated the nationalisation of Church property and the use of most of the proceeds to liquidate the national debt. The nobles and Third Estate advocated toleration.

¹ Page 70.

These proposals, though not carried out, confirmed the Parliament, which resented the suggested increase of the political power of the Estates, in its opposition to civil and political reform and led the clergy to look to the Crown for protection. The higher nobles strongly resented demands for the restoration of the Crown lands they had seized and were strengthened in their opposition to the Reformation.

C. The Recognition of the Huguenots.

(1) The Colloquy of Poissy, 1561.

September, 1561. The Colloquy was practically a National Council to which both Protestants and Catholics were summoned. It failed to promote the religious unity which Catherine desired, but gave the Huguenots an opportunity, of which Beza took full advantage, of explaining their position.

(2) The Edict of January, or the Edict of Toleration, 1562.

This Edict, passed at St. Germain, required the Huguenots to surrender any Church property they held and gave them the right of assembling outside the walls of towns.

Thus Protestantism was legally recognised in France for the first time. Protestant ministers preached in the Palace of Fontainebleau ; there were reports that some of the bishops were leaning towards Protestantism and even that Charles IX. was wavering.

D. The Guises.

The new measures had provoked great opposition, which was increased by the turbulence of the Huguenots, who, thinking that the Edict of January had secured their position, violently attacked the Catholics, particularly in Paris.

(1) The Triumvirate, 1561.

Montmorency, a strong Catholic and friendly towards Spain, resented the rapid spread of Protestantism, the

loss of the Crown lands he had received from Henry II and the growing power of his nephews Coligny and d'Andelot.

April, **1561**. Francis, Duke of Guise, Anne de Montmorency and the Marshal St. André formed the Triumvirate to maintain the Catholic cause, with the help of Philip II.

March, **1562**. Antony of Navarre, to whom Philip II promised Sardinia, abjured Protestantism and joined the Triumvirate.

(2) The Massacre of Vassy, **1562**.

March 1st, **1562**. About fifty Huguenots killed and many wounded while worshipping in a barn at Vassy by the soldiers of the Duke of Guise, who apparently tried to stop the outrage, but was considered by the Huguenots to have sanctioned it.

The massacre was the immediate cause of the Religious Wars.

(3) Seizure of the King and Regent, **1562**.

April 6th, **1562**. Guise seized Charles IX at Fontainebleau and brought him to Paris, whither Catherine soon followed. Condé, who also intended to seize the King, found on arriving at Fontainebleau that Guise had anticipated him.

II. The First Period of the Wars of Religion, 1562-1570.

A. General.

(1) Political motives.

Although some of the combatants on both sides were inspired by devotion to their religion, both parties had political motives. The great nobles on the Huguenot side hoped to regain some measure of the feudal independence their ancestors had enjoyed; a strong tendency towards republicanism appeared among the Huguenots of Southern France; but the Huguenots may justly be regarded as the champions

of French independence against the Spanish intervention on which the Guises relied. Both parties aimed at securing the control of the government, but the Huguenots favoured constitutional development, while the Guises fought for absolute rule, although at the end of the wars they professed to support democratic government.

Both Calvin and Coligny, who realised the inferiority of the Huguenot forces, were opposed to war and hoped that peaceful methods would secure toleration. But it is very doubtful whether any permanent measure of toleration could have been gained except by war.

During the First Period, Catherine tried to maintain the royal power by at times acting as mediator between the Huguenots and Catholics, at others by balancing one party against the other. Her "hand-to-mouth" policy proved unsuccessful.

(2) Geographical distribution of the combatants.

The Catholics were strongest in the north and centre of France and in Provence; the Huguenots in the south-west.

(3) The religious tendency of different classes.

The smaller provincial nobles and the merchants of the towns supported the Reformation. Most of the great nobles, with the striking exception of the Bourbons, Coligny and his brother D'Andelot, were Catholics; so were the peasants, the official classes, the town mobs (particularly in Paris, Rouen and Orleans, where monastic houses strengthened the Catholic cause).

(4) The strength of both parties.

The stern discipline of Calvinism did not suit the French temperament, and the Catholics formed the great proportion of the population; the King was in their power; they controlled the finances and thus

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found the means of levying large forces of mercenaries ; they were helped by Spanish gold and the splendid infantry of Spain.

The Huguenots were superior in cavalry, which was formed of the smaller nobles and their followers ; the steady support of the merchants, the zealous efforts of the Genevan preachers, the great military skill of Condé and Coligny enabled them to hold out against heavy odds.

(5) The ferocity of both parties.

The Catholics, and especially the Spanish veterans, treated with the utmost cruelty the Huguenots they captured. At first the violence of the Huguenots was directed mainly towards Catholic buildings, treasures and monuments ; they destroyed the tomb of William the Conqueror at Caen, the statue of Louis XI at Cléry, the monument of Joan of Arc at Orleans. But as the war proceeded they proved as cruel as their opponents.

B. The First Civil War, August, 1562–March, 1563.

(1) The immediate causes.

The immediate causes of the war were the massacre at Vassy and the manifesto issued by Condé on April 8th, 1562, in which he asserted that the Huguenots had taken up arms to rescue the King from the Triumvirate and maintain the Edict of January.¹

(2) Foreign help.

Philip II sent 6000 Spanish troops to help the Guises ; Pope Pius IV sent Catherine 100,000 crowns. In September, 1562, Condé ceded Havre to Elizabeth, who feared that the success of the Catholics in France might be followed by an attempt to secure the throne of England for Mary Queen of Scots. Elizabeth sent some troops and money with which Condé hired German mercenaries.

¹ Page 245.

(3) The War.

The Huguenots secured much of the valleys of the Saône, Loire (including Orleans) and Seine (including Rouen).

October 26th, **1562**. The Catholics, led by the Duke of Guise, recovered Rouen, where Antony of Navarre was killed.

December 19th, **1562**. Catholic victory at Dreux ; St. André killed ; Condé captured by the Catholics, Montmorency by the Huguenots.

February 18th, **1563**. Francis, Duke of Guise, assassinated while besieging Orleans by a Huguenot, Poltrot. Coligny and Calvin had not instigated the assassination, but owing to the delight with which they received the news may justly be regarded as accessories after the fact.

(4) The Pacification of Amboise, March 12th, **1563**.

The Catholics were greatly weakened by the death of Guise and, to a less extent, of St. André. Catherine took skilful advantage of the opportunity of regaining power and resumed her policy of balancing Catholics against Huguenots. By the Pacification of Amboise—

a. Condé and Montmorency were exchanged.

b. The Huguenots were to be allowed the exercise of their religion in the towns they held, in one city in each Sénéchaussé,¹ but not in Paris. Nobles were allowed to hold Reformed services in their fiefs.

Coligny thought the treaty afforded inadequate protection to the Huguenots. It was carried by the influence of Condé, who now co-operated with the Catholics to recover Havre from the English in July, **1563**.

¹ Sénéchaussés were divisions of the country, administered by Seneschals. See Part I, page 470.

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August, **1563**. Condé pressed for his own appointment as Lieutenant-General of France. Catherine, fearing that such an appointment would make the Huguenots too strong, declared Charles IX of age.

C. The Second Civil War, September, 1567–March, 1568.

(1) The Causes of the War.

Catherine, influenced by L'Hôpital, refused to enforce in France all the decrees of the Council of Trent. But she wished to make Catholicism supreme, and the Huguenots viewed with alarm her meeting with Alva in June, **1565**, at which some historians hold that the plans for the massacre of St. Bartholomew were first discussed. But Philip's refusal to allow the marriage of his son Don Carlos to Margaret of Valois, and of his sister, the Queen of Portugal, to the Duke of Anjou prevented the close alliance between Catherine and Philip which might have resulted from the negotiations.

The Huguenots, discouraged by the refusal of Charles IX to listen to a request for toleration in France, which was made by some German princes, fearing a hostile league of Spain and France, resenting the retention in Catherine's pay of a force of Swiss Catholics originally hired to prevent Alva from crossing the French frontier on his march to the Netherlands, again took up arms, encouraged by the revolt of the Netherlands¹ and the imprisonment of Mary Queen of Scots at Loch Leven Castle.

(2) The War.

September, **1567**. Failure of Condé's attempt to seize Charles IX and Catherine, who, protected by the Swiss, got safely to Paris.

November 10th, **1567**. Indecisive battle of St. Denis, where Montmorency was killed. His death

weakened the extreme Catholic party and led Catherine to adopt a moderate attitude and to agree to

(3) The Edict of Longjumeau.

March, **1568**. This Edict reaffirmed the Pacification of Amboise.

D. The Third Civil War, September, 1568-August, 1570.

The Pope, the Parliaments of Paris and the provinces protested against the Edict of Longjumeau ; the Jesuits, who had secured a position in Paris in **1560** and had gained much influence in France, advocated strong measures against the Huguenots.

August, **1568**. Catherine's unsuccessful plot to seize Condé and Coligny led to the Third Civil War. She now joined the Guises, dismissed L'Hôpital in October and sanctioned Edicts revoking recent concessions, forbidding the public exercise of any but the Catholic religion and bidding Huguenot ministers leave France in a fortnight.

(1) The War.

In this war La Rochelle first becomes important as the chief Huguenot stronghold.

March 13th, **1569**. Henry of Anjou, advised by Tavannes, defeated Condé, Coligny and D'Andelot at Jarnac, where Condé was murdered after he had been captured. About a hundred Huguenot nobles were slain.

With the death of Condé the more statesmanlike Coligny became leader of the Huguenots.

June, **1569**. German and Flemish troops, under the Duke of Zweibrücken¹ and William of Orange, joined Coligny at Limoges, but failed to take Poitiers, which the young Henry le Balafre, Duke of Guise, successfully defended.

October 3rd, **1569**. Anjou and Tavannes, now strengthened by Italians sent by Pope Pius V,

¹ The Duke died just before the junction was effected.

and Walloons sent by Alva, routed Coligny at Moncontour, but wasted time besieging St. Jean d'Angély.

October, 1569—June, 1570. A great march of Coligny along the Rhone and Saône failed to result in a junction with William of Orange, but showed that the Huguenots were not crushed.

(2) The Peace of St. Germain, August 8th, 1570.

By this time a more moderate Catholic party, the forerunners of the later "Politiques," was coming into existence under the leadership of Francis de Montmorency; Catherine began to favour the idea of the marriage of Queen Elizabeth and Anjou; Charles IX was jealous of Anjou's success and Tavannes was driven from court; little help had come from Philip II, whom Catherine suspected of causing the death of his wife, Elizabeth of France. Catherine therefore adopted a more moderate policy, and by the Peace of St. Germain—

- a. The Huguenots received for two years La Rochelle, Cognac, Montauban and La Charité; the first two gave them a hold on the south-west, the possession of La Charité would facilitate a junction with any German reinforcements.
- b. Huguenots obtained liberty of conscience, restoration of confiscated property, the right of holding public offices and of challenging judges in the Parliament.
- c. Huguenots were allowed to worship publicly in two cities in each province, although not in Paris.

The peace was the best the Huguenots had obtained and provoked strong protests from Philip II and Pope Pius V.

III. The Second Period of the Wars of Religion, 1570-1573.

A. Changed Conditions.

(1) Philip II.

Philip II seemed likely to conquer the Netherlands; success in the Netherlands would give him a better chance of conquering England; he had been strengthened by the defeat of the Turks at Lepanto in October, 1571, and hoped to bring about the marriage of his son Don Carlos to Mary Queen of Scots, whose claim to the throne of England he strongly supported.

His policy, which was strongly supported by Pius V, seemed so dangerous to France that it made a union of the whole nation essential for successful defence against possible aggression by Philip. In consequence Charles IX, Catherine and the Politiques adopted a friendly attitude towards the Huguenots, Queen Elizabeth and William of Orange. Negotiations for the marriage of Elizabeth and Anjou were renewed; Catherine, greatly annoyed by the refusal of Philip II to marry her youngest daughter, Margaret of Valois, arranged for her marriage to Henry, who became King of Navarre on the death of his mother, Queen Jeanne [d'Albret], on June 9th, 1572;¹ William of Orange offered to share the Netherlands with Charles IX and to restore Burgundy to France if he would help the Netherlands against Philip.

(2) Charles IX.

Charles had married Maximilian II's daughter, Elizabeth of Austria, in November, 1570; was impatient of his mother's authority; greatly admired Coligny, under whose guidance he hoped in a war with Spain to gain such military glory as his brother Henry of Anjou had won at Jarnac and Moncontour.

¹ She died of pneumonia, not of poison.

(3) Coligny.

Coligny, encouraged by the negotiations with foreign Protestants, came to court in September, **1571**, and gained such influence over the King, who called him "mon père," that Catherine grew jealous and, with the support of Guise, the friend of Spain and the unrelenting enemy of the Huguenots, who was bitterly disappointed that Henry of Navarre and not himself was to marry Margaret of Valois, began plotting to kill Coligny.

[August 18th, **1572**. Marriage of Henry of Navarre to Margaret of Valois, in spite of the bride's unwillingness.]

Coligny, whose vanity was gratified by the favour of Charles, failed to realise that the King was weak and unstable, that Catherine was a mistress of intrigue. Catherine's designs were facilitated by the defeat and massacre at Mons on July 19th, **1572**, of a French force, under the Count of Genlis, which had been sent to help William of Orange; she was annoyed because Coligny opposed the accession of her favourite Anjou to the throne of Poland. She therefore formed plans to kill him, with Guise, who held Coligny responsible for the murder of his father at Orleans, and Anjou.

August 22nd, **1572**. Coligny wounded by an assassin.

The failure of this attempt was the immediate cause of the massacre of St. Bartholomew. Catherine so terrified Charles with the fear of Huguenot reprisals that, although he had shown great sympathy with Coligny, he agreed the Admiral should be slain and with him "all the Huguenots in France, lest one should be left to reproach me afterwards."

B. The Fourth Civil War, **1572-1573**.(1) Massacre of St. Bartholomew, August 24th, **1572**.

Murder of Coligny, by special command of Guise, Teligny, his son-in-law, and La Rochefoucauld; the Paris mob butchered the Huguenots for two days and

nights. Many were slain at Lyons, Rouen, Bordeaux, Orleans, Angers and Bourges, and personal motives often led to murder. The total number of victims has been variously estimated at from 20,000 to 100,000 ; not less than 2000 perished in Paris. Navarre, saved by the personal intervention of Charles, and Condé were compelled to abjure Protestantism.

a. How far premeditated.

Some authorities hold that the massacre was planned by Catherine and Alva at Bayonne in 1565 ; the Spanish ambassador had often told Philip that such a scheme was being planned. Some maintain that Charles' insistence that Navarre should marry Margaret at Paris was due to his desire to gather together the leading Huguenots so that they could be easily exterminated ; for the same reason the murder of Coligny, which Guise would have sanctioned on his return to court in May, 1572, was deferred until all the Huguenots were assembled in the hope that their reprisals might justify a massacre. The readiness with which the great towns of France followed the example of Paris suggests premeditation.

b. The Guilt.

The Guises planned and executed the massacre of the leading Huguenots, although it is possible that the bloodthirsty Paris mob must be held directly responsible for the death of the majority of the victims. Catherine was as guilty as the Guises. Charles IX, influenced by his mother, sanctioned the act against his better feelings. The Huguenots had given much provocation by their violence, arrogance and the contempt they showed for the Parisians. Pope Gregory XIII and Philip II strongly approved of the Massacre and were accessories after the fact.

(2) Siege of La Rochelle.

The Huguenots refused to surrender and took refuge in the cities of the South. The Catholics, under Anjou, in vain besieged La Rochelle for eight months; Sancerre held out. The Politiques, who had tried to save the Huguenots in the massacre, led by the sons of the Constable de Montmorency, opposed the Guises and favoured a conciliatory policy; Anjou wished to go to take the throne of Poland; his brother Alençon joined the Politiques, and hoped to marry Queen Elizabeth and become Protector of the Netherlands. These conditions led to—

(3) The Treaty of La Rochelle, June 24th, 1573.

This Treaty gave to all Huguenots liberty of conscience and allowed services to be held in La Rochelle, Nîmes and Montauban.

The Huguenots, among whom the merchant class had become more influential owing to the death of many nobles, now formed a scheme for two confederate republics in the South, with assemblies meeting at Nîmes and Montauban. In the *Vindiciæ contra Tyrannos* the right of the magistracy, the representatives of the people, to depose a tyrannical king was asserted. Their position was greatly strengthened by the support of the Politiques. "The Huguenots seemed indestructible; their new allies, the Politiques, made them doubly formidable."¹

HENRY III, 1574–1589

The Third Period of the Wars of Religion, 1574–1598.

Anjou was now gaining great unpopularity as King of Poland;² the Politiques pressed for political reform through the States-General, and the Huguenots demanded an extension of the privileges they had gained

¹ Kitchin.² Page 329.

by the Treaty of La Rochelle. Alençon seemed to be scheming to get the crown of France. Navarre and Alençon tried to escape from St. Germain to put themselves at the head of a new rising, but were captured, and Montmorency, suspected of helping them, was also imprisoned.

A. The Fifth War, February, 1574-May, 1576.

The South again rose in rebellion.

French May 30th, 1574. Death of Charles IX. Catherine acted as Regent until the arrival of Henry, King of Poland, in September, 1574. He refused to join the Politiques, remained faithful to the Guises, who were weakened by the death of the Cardinal of Lorraine in December, 1574.

February, 1575. The Politiques, led by Damville,¹ made a definite alliance with the Huguenots by the Compact of Milhaud. Condé, and soon Alençon, became leader of the combined parties, and Henry of Navarre escaped from court, leaving without regret the Mass and his wife, and joined the Politiques.

January, 1576. John Casimir, of the Palatinate, invaded France in support of the Huguenots.

May, 1576. The Peace of Monsieur,² or Chastenoy, gave the Huguenots freedom to worship, although not in Paris, to build schools, to supply half the judges in courts before which a Huguenot was tried. Henry of Navarre was made Governor of Guienne, and Condé of Picardy, the control of which facilitated communication between the Huguenots and the Protestants of the Netherlands.

B. The League, 1576, and the Sixth War of Religion, 1577.

The Compact of Milhaud and the strong resentment of the Catholics to the concessions made by the Peace of Monsieur helped the Guises³ to establish the League,

¹ Son of the Constable Anne de Montmorency. ² i.e. Alençon.

³ i.e. Henry Le Balafré and his brothers the Duke of Mayenne and the Cardinal of Guise (page 239).

or Holy Union, in 1576. It was supported by the Catholic nobles, the Jesuits and the States-General; it looked for help to Philip II and the Pope; it aimed at defending the Roman Catholic Church and enforcing the decrees of the Council of Trent;¹ it declared its intention to maintain the authority of Henry III; it wished to execute the resolutions of the Estates and to restore to the Provinces their old rights. But it is likely that Guise, irritated by the concessions to Navarre, Alençon and Condé, and jealous of the influence of the "Mignons" on the effeminate King Henry III, was planning to make himself independent of the King and, perhaps, even to seize the Crown.

Desultory warfare broke out, and this is regarded as the Sixth Civil War, in which the Huguenots lost La Charité and Brouaye.

Alençon, now created Duke of Anjou, and Damville deserted the Politiques. But Henry III, who had failed to get financial support from the States-General, and was beginning to fear the power of the Guises, made with Henry of Navarre the Peace of Bergerac in September, 1577, by which he ordered the suppression of all leagues, confirmed the concessions of the Peace of Monsieur, and therefore further increased the animosity of the League.

C. The Seventh Civil War, April–November, 1580.

By this time France was in a state of anarchy; the turbulence, selfishness and shameless immorality of the upper classes and the social grievances of the lower led to great disorder. The King and his court were utterly depraved, and "the figure of Catherine de' Medici, like a busy witch, broods over the seething cauldron."

The Seventh War was provoked by Henry III's refusal to hand over the whole of Margaret's dowry to Navarre. It was due mainly to the resentment felt by the young gallants of Henry of Navarre's court: the

¹ Page 311.

famous Huguenot de la Noue opposed this "Lovers' War,"¹ in which La Rochelle took no part.

Peace was made, largely owing to the efforts of Anjou (Alençon), who was anxious to accept the offer of the sovereignty of the Netherlands, and urged Henry III to come to terms with the Huguenots.

The Peace of Fleix, November 26th, 1580, confirmed the terms of the Peace of Bergerac.

D. The Eighth War. "The War of the Three Henries," 1585-1589.

(1) Changed conditions.

Anjou accepted the sovereignty of the Netherlands in September, 1580, and negotiations were renewed for his marriage with Elizabeth. Catherine, fearing the power of Philip II, who had secured Portugal in 1580, sent help to Dom Antonio, who claimed the throne, but her efforts proved unsuccessful. Anjou tried to seize Antwerp in January, 1583, but the "French Fury" caused such indignation that he returned to France in June, 1583. Anjou died in June, 1584, and the possibility of an alliance with England and the Netherlands against Philip was finally ended by the assassination of William of Orange, July, 1584.

The death of Anjou made Henry of Navarre the next heir to the French throne. The King of France urged him to declare himself a Catholic, but he wisely refused prematurely to take a step which would alienate the Huguenots.

(2) The Guises.

The Guises, anxious to exclude Henry of Navarre, and perhaps hoping ultimately to secure the throne for the Duke of Guise, now supported the claim of the feeble Cardinal of Bourbon² to the throne. The League was reorganised in Paris and directed by "The Sixteen," who represented the districts of the city ;

¹ Or "The Gallants' War," "La Guerre des Amoureux."

² Uncle of Henry of Navarre (page 240).

it demanded the deposition of Henry III and invited the Duke of Guise to Paris. By the Treaty of Joinville, January 1st, 1585, Philip, fearing an alliance between Elizabeth and France, made an alliance with the Guises by which he undertook to support Bourbon, to recognise the League and to assist the Guises to crush the Huguenots, receiving in return Béarn, and Navarre, north of the Pyrenees.

March, 1585. The Manifesto of the League asserted that it aimed at the relief of taxation, the maintenance of the royal authority and of the Catholic succession to the throne, the expulsion of the King's "Mignons,"¹ and the regular meetings of the States-General.

Henry III hated the Huguenots, Catherine resented the possible succession of Henry of Navarre, whose wife deserted him and joined the League. The influence of Joyeuse and Catherine led Henry III, in spite of his distrust and fear of the Guises, to capitulate to the League, and Catherine made, on July 5th, 1585, the Treaty of Nemours, which recognised the League, revoked all Edicts of Toleration, forbade the exercise of Huguenot worship and made large grants to Cardinal Bourbon and the Guises (Guise, Aumale, Mercœur and Mayenne). This Treaty, the news of which is said to have turned Navarre's moustache white in one night, was the immediate cause of the war of the Three Henrys.

September 5th, 1585. Pope Sixtus V excommunicated Henry of Navarre.

(3) The War.

The Politiques and Huguenots supported Navarre, the legitimate heir, who might claim to be defending France against Spanish domination. His position was most difficult, but his chances were improved by the mutual distrust of Henry III and the Guises, and by Philip's delay in sending help to the League.

¹ Eperon, Joyeuse, Biron, D'Or.

7. To the Murder of the Duke of Guise, December, 1588.

October 20th, 1587. Navarre defeated and slew Joyeuse at Courtras—the first Huguenot victory. Navarre's inaction after the battle has been severely blamed. It may have been due to the weakness of his army, or to the attraction of his mistress, or the desire of his troops to enjoy their spoils. He, possibly, ought to have joined the Germans.

October and November. Guise routed the Germans, who had invaded France to help Navarre, near Orleans and at Auneau, and gained great popularity in consequence.

May 12th, 1588, in spite of the King's command, Guise entered Paris. The League warmly welcomed him and erected barricades on August 12th to prevent the King's Swiss troops from asserting his authority. Henry III fled from Paris to Chartres.

[August, 1588. Defeat of the Spanish Armada.]

Guise now became dictator in Paris; his haughty behaviour at Blois, where the States-General met in October, and the King's fear that Guise was plotting his overthrow, if not his death, led to—

December 23rd, 1588, the murder at Blois, by the King's instigation, of Henry, Duke of Guise and, on the next day, of his brother the Cardinal of Guise. "I am once more King of France, for I have killed the King of Paris," said Henry III. Catherine replied, "You have killed the Duke of Guise? God grant you have not thereby made yourself king of nothing."

January 5th, 1589. Death of Catherine de' Medici at Blois.

b. War between Henry III and the League.

The murder of Guise was followed by the revolt of the League, led by Paris, against Henry III. Aumale was elected Governor of Paris; the Sorbonne declared the people released from their allegiance to Henry III; the Sixteen arrested the Parliament, which protested against their tyranny; Mayenne was appointed Lieutenant-General of France.

Henry III, "a king without a kingdom," held only Tours and a few towns on the Loire; he tried unsuccessfully to effect a reconciliation with Mayenne, who was threatening Tours; Pope Sixtus V summoned him to Rome to answer for the murder of Guise. Henry III in despair turned to Henry of Navarre, the undisputed head of the Huguenots since the death of his cousin, the younger Condé, in 1588.

April 30th, 1589. The two Henries made an alliance at Tours. Henry III promised to give toleration to the Huguenots, Navarre to support Henry III against Mayenne.

Thus the Huguenots, Politiques, and the supporters of Henry III, united to maintain the principles of hereditary succession and toleration as against the democratic government and religious persecution which formed the policy of the League.

Mayenne was driven back from Tours; Aumale defeated at Senlis; the two Kings, reinforced by the Swiss, threatened Paris.

July 31st, 1589. Henry III wounded with a poisoned dagger at St. Cloud by a Dominican friar, Jacques Clement, a supporter of the League.

August 2nd, 1589. Henry III died.

E. The Ninth War, July, 1589-May, 1598.**(1) Difficulties of Henry of Navarre.**

Henry of Navarre was now the legitimate King of France.¹ His position was very difficult.

a. Rival claimants.

Charles, Duke of Lorraine, claimed the throne as the husband of Claude of France, Henry II's daughter;² Philip II, wishing to unite Western Europe into a strong Catholic state, claimed the throne as widower of Claude's elder sister, Elizabeth of France.³ Mayenne wished to seize the throne as the nominee of Spain and to marry the Infanta; ultimately the League, Mayenne and Philip recognised Henry's uncle, Charles, Cardinal of Bourbon, as Charles X in 1589.

b. Weakness of Henry IV.

Henry's main support, the Huguenot army, was most efficient but small; Eperon, one of Henry III's "Mignons," deserted and the royalist Catholic nobles resented the accession of a heretic.

c. Religion.

The Royal Council urged Henry to turn Catholic; he professed his willingness to receive "instruction" and to recognise Catholicism, but refused to take a step which would have alienated the Huguenots.

But the Politiques supported Henry because "they saw that the security of Henry IV on the throne of France was the guarantee for religious and political freedom throughout

¹ He was tenth in descent from St. Louis and his succession was rendered possible by the fact that about forty senior branches of the Valois family had become extinct.

² Genealogical tree, page 239.

³ Page 241.

Europe,"¹ and time helped to lessen his difficulties. The Duke of Lorraine soon withdrew his claim. Popular feeling resented Spanish rule; Mayenne quarrelled with the League owing to its violence and strong democratic spirit; Henry received help from Elizabeth and the Netherlands, each sent him £22,000; money was sent from other Protestants and from Venice.

(2) Henry wins France.

a. Early victories.

September 21st, 1589. Henry, who had established himself in Picardy and Normandy, with a base at Dieppe, defeated Mayenne at Arques.

March 14th, 1590. Henry routed Mayenne at Ivry.

May 10th, 1590. Death of the Cardinal of Bourbon (Charles X).

July, 1590. Henry besieged Paris. The city reduced to the greatest privations.

September 10th, 1590. Alexander Farnese, Duke of Parma, raised the siege of Paris.

b. Divisions in the League.

During 1591 the divisions in the League were widened. Mayenne quarrelled with his nephew, the young Duke of Guise; the League secured a Spanish garrison for Paris and favoured the succession to the throne of Guise, who was to marry the Infanta; in November, 1591, the Sixteen executed Brisson, the President of the Parliament, who favoured the Politiques; Mayenne, resenting the extreme policy of the League and the growing influence of Spain, hanged four of the Sixteen and re-established

¹ Ranke, quoted by Dean Kitchin.

his authority in Paris. But he could not carry on the war without Philip's help.

April 20th, **1592**. Parma relieved Rouen, which was hard pressed by Henry of Navarre.

c. Henry becomes a Roman Catholic.

July 23rd, **1593**. Henry joined the Roman Catholic Church.

Henry's "conversion," which turned an indifferent Huguenot into an indifferent Catholic, was a wise political move. He had found that the Huguenots were too few to enable him to win France by arms ; France was being ruined by the war, which ruined trade and tended to make the great nobles too powerful, encouraged the Duke of Savoy to invade the South-west and seemed likely to establish the authority of Spain. The States-General, although possibly willing to accept Guise as King, had, on January 26th, **1593**, strongly resented Philip's attempt to make the Infanta Queen and were ill-disposed towards Spain. Men longed for peace, and the force of faction which had hitherto prevented union was diminished. It was essential that France should be united if she was to survive. Henry's conversion, which did not deprive him of the support of the Huguenots, came at an opportune moment and won over the Catholics except the League, which was irreconcilable, Mayenne, who wanted Burgundy, and Mercoeur, who wanted Brittany. The results justified the act ; immediate submission of many cities, including Meaux, Orleans, Bourges and Lyons ; by the end of **1593** most of France had submitted.

d. The triumph of Henry IV.

February 27th, **1594**. Henry was crowned King of France at Chartres.

EUROPEAN HISTORY

March 17th, 1594. Henry IV took Rouen.

March 21st, 1594. Henry IV entered Paris, having won over the Governor, Brissac, by large bribes.

August, 1594. Henry IV took Laon, thus protecting the north-east frontier, and Amiens.

December, 1594. A pupil of the Jesuits having unsuccessfully attempted to assassinate Henry, the King expelled the Jesuits from France. Henry IV won over the Duke of Lorraine and the Duke of Guise, the latter receiving the rich governorship of Provence in exchange for Champagne.

September 17th, 1595. Pope Clement VIII absolved Henry.

(3) War with Spain, 1595-1598.

January, 1595. Henry declared war on Spain.

Philip II's relentless opposition made war essential if Henry was to keep his throne, and gave to the war a national character. The war was approved by England, Holland, the Swiss, the German Protestants, Lorraine and the Pope, but they sent little actual help. But Mayenne, Mercoeur, seeking with Spanish support to secure Burgundy and Brittany, and Eperon, who was trying to secure Provence, fought against France; the Papal absolution won over Joyeuse and Nemours.

1595. The Spaniards defeated Bouillon, captured Doullens and Cambray.

January, 1596. Mayenne, who had been driven out of Burgundy by Biron, submitted and was made Governor of the Isle of France. Eperon, defeated by Guise in Provence, submitted and received generous treatment. The favour shown to them aroused resentment among the Huguenots.

April, 1596. The Cardinal Archduke Albert captured Calais, partly because Elizabeth failed to send

help. The reforms of Sully greatly improved Henry's financial position.

September 19th, **1597**. Recovery of Amiens, which had been captured by Porto Carrero in March.

March 20th, **1598**. Owing to the inability of Philip to send further aid Mercoeur submitted, receiving a large pension and the hand of César, Duke of Vendôme, son of Henry IV and Gabrielle d'Estrées, for his daughter.

F. The Edict of Nantes, April 15th, 1598.

In order to establish his position Henry IV had been compelled to make arrangements with some of the Catholic nobles, which pressed hardly on the Huguenots, who in some districts had lost the right of public worship—in Provence, Huguenot worship had been forbidden on pain of death; the mixed courts had been generally suppressed; Huguenots had been excluded from office. Some of the violent Huguenots advocated armed resistance. The Edict of Nantes removed most of their grievances.

- (1) The Huguenots were to exercise their religion freely, to establish schools and to print in the towns specified in the Treaty of Bergerac, **1577**, and in towns in which they held Huguenot services in **1596** and **1597**, and also in the lands of the Huguenot nobles, and in one town in each *bailiwick*, but not in Paris. Huguenot worship is said to have been celebrated in 3500 castles.
- (2) The Huguenots to retain seventy-five cities, including La Rochelle, Montpellier and Montauban, until **1607**. This period was afterwards extended to **1612**.
- (3) Catholic worship to be restored in all places where it had been stopped.
- (4) Huguenots to be eligible for all public offices and for admission to all colleges and schools, but to pay tithes and observe the holidays of the Catholic Church.

- (5) Due arrangements to be made for the presence of Huguenot judges in Parliaments.
- (6) The King to contribute to the support of Huguenot ministers, who were to be exempt from military service.

The Edict of Nantes gave more solid assurance of toleration than previous agreements, which had been little more than truces. It was a great concession to the Huguenots, who formed only one-twelfth of the population. The Huguenots gained by it a measure of independence that was to prove dangerous to the Crown ; but Henry IV probably thought that it was essential that the Huguenots should have some measure of political power if they were to secure religious toleration. It gave toleration only to Calvinists. Its success depended upon the willingness of the King to enforce it ; under Henry IV it proved effective and promoted the welfare of a thrifty, hard-working people, who materially promoted the commercial development of France. But later kings were less favourable, and the struggle of the Huguenots to maintain and extend their privileges led to dissension in the seventeenth century.

G. The Peace of Vervins, May 2nd, 1598.

Philip had failed to establish his supremacy over France, which had vanquished him by sacrificing religious unity to political unity ; England, Scotland and the Low Countries were definitely Protestant ; he had lost his supremacy at sea ; the struggle in the Netherlands had resulted in the loss of Holland ; the once invincible Spanish soldiery had found worthy opponents in France and the Netherlands ; Spain was exhausted and her treasury was empty ; Philip was old, weary and willing to make peace. France needed peace as much as Spain. By the Peace—

- (1) Spain restored all her conquests in France except Cambray.

- (2) Henry IV restored Charolais.
- (3) The Duke of Savoy gave up his conquests in Provence.
- (4) The Dutch refused to accept the Peace because Philip did not acknowledge their independence ; Elizabeth refused to agree to it. Nominally the Peace of Vervins was a re-enactment of the Treaty of Cateau-Cambresis.¹ But in 1559 Spain was at the height of her power ; by 1598 her strength was broken and her decline had begun.

Philip gave the sovereignty of the Netherlands to his daughter, the Infanta Isabel Clara Eugenia ; she married her cousin, the Archduke Albert, who renounced his cardinalate to enable him to marry her. The King of Spain was to remain suzerain of the Netherlands, which were to revert to the Spanish throne on failure of heirs to the Infanta.

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¹ Page 161.

SECTION VIII
PHILIP II AND
THE REVOLT OF THE NETHERLANDS

PHILIP II, 1527–1598

Born **1527**, the son of Charles V and Isabella of Portugal. He married (1) Maria of Portugal, the mother of Don Carlos, who died in **1545**; (2) in **1554** Mary of England, who died in **1558**; (3) in **1560** Elizabeth, daughter of Henry II and Catherine de' Medici, who died in **1568**, leaving a daughter Isabella; (4) his niece, Anne of Austria, daughter of Maximilian II, who died in **1580** and whose son Philip became Philip III in **1598**.

I. Philip II and Spain.

Philip was essentially a Spaniard. Spanish was his native tongue; he was at home in Spain and never left the country after his return from Flanders in August, **1559**.

He aimed at securing religious uniformity and absolute power in his own dominions, and hoped afterwards to obtain supreme political authority in England and France by a skilful use of the Catholics in both countries.

A. Religion.

Philip's devotion to Roman Catholicism, strong support from the Dominicans, who had great influence in the Inquisition, and from the Jesuits, won for him a considerable measure of popularity among the Spaniards. He made the Inquisition his chief instrument in opposing heresy and warmly approved of its cruel measures. It destroyed Protestantism in Spain, and bitterly persecuted Jews and Moriscos; the condemnation of Caranza, Archbishop of Toledo, in **1559** showed that even a Catholic of the highest position could not safely show any tolerance to Protestants. *Autos-da-fé* became common, and Philip presided at one soon after his arrival.

The Inquisition placed the Church in the power of the King, to whom passed at least a third of its revenues ; freedom of thought was stifled, scientific research was forbidden, and in consequence the development of Spanish literature was checked and "ignorance was absolute among Spaniards." Religion lost much of its real power, it tended to become a set of formulæ rather than a guide to life. Philip had "terrorised his realm into a monkish theocracy, and in doing so had turned the majority of his subjects into ribald scoffers at the reality"¹

B. Royal Autocracy

The Cortes of Castile and Aragon still met and sometimes protested against the royal policy, the Cortes of Aragon in **1563** refused to vote supplies until the powers of the Inquisition were limited to points of doctrine, the Cortes of Castile in **1570** refused, on the ground of poverty, to give an additional grant required to meet Alva's expenses, in **1590** the Chief Justice of Aragon, who was superior to the royal courts, refused to surrender Perez to Philip.

But the Inquisition helped Philip in political as well as religious difficulties, a royal army entered Saragossa in **1591** and executed the Chief Justice, and Philip, owing to his power of nominating deputies, secured the control of the Cortes of Aragon. In Castile "the shadow of constitutional liberty alone remained."

Thus Philip's rule became a personal despotism exercised through subservient royal Councils.

The nobles, almost entirely excluded from the Cortes, filled ceremonial offices at court and, although serving abroad as generals or ambassadors, counted for little at home and became mere grandees. Royal autocracy checked constitutional development and popular government was unknown.

¹ *Cambridge Modern History*

C. Military and Naval Events.

(1) **1568-1570.** Revolt of the Moriscos.

The Moriscos rose partly to secure political freedom, partly owing to the persecution of the Inquisition. They were finally defeated by Don John. Many fled; those who remained in Spain were removed to other parts of the country [and finally expelled in **1609**].

(2) The Turks.

The Turks, who disputed Philip's supremacy in the Western Mediterranean, were utterly routed by Don John at Lepanto, October 7th, **1571**. But differences between Spain and Venice hampered future action, and in **1574** the Turks recovered Tunis, which Don John had taken in **1573**.

(3) Portugal.

1581. Following a successful invasion by Alva, Philip entered Lisbon and assumed the crown of Portugal.

(4) The Armada, July 30th-August 8th, **1588**.¹

The defeat of the Armada saved England and Protestantism, destroyed the glamour of the Spanish power and established the maritime supremacy of England, thus adding to the difficulties of Philip in the Netherlands.

(5) War with France, **1595-1598**.

This war dealt a final blow at the policy of Philip.

D. Internal Conditions.

Under Philip the commerce of Spain was ruined by a vicious system of finance, particularly by the *alcabala*, a 10 per cent tax on sales; a heavy excise was levied on food, and agriculture was greatly injured by the oppression of the Moriscos; nobles and clergy, though nominally free from taxation, were plundered; State

¹ See *Notes on British History*, Part II, page 313.

offices were sold ; the export of cattle and food was prohibited ; the gold and silver from the New World was often forestalled and always depleted by speculation ; while the drain of men for war diminished revenue. The administration was hopelessly corrupt, and as a general result of his policy Philip found himself continually in need of money, and his inability to meet their financial needs greatly added to the difficulties of Alva and Requesens in the Netherlands.

II. Foreign Policy.

Philip, relieved of the burden of Empire which had pressed so heavily on his father, aimed at unifying Christianity for the ultimate political benefit of Spain.

A. England.

Partly owing to his fear of France, the steady opponent of his father, Philip endeavoured to maintain friendly relations with England. His plan to marry Elizabeth, and so to add England to his dominions and make it a Catholic country failed, and Elizabeth realised the danger to Protestantism that would follow from the supremacy of Spain in Western Europe. But peace seemed necessary for the settlement of England and she was anxious to avoid war ; while Philip knew that if he was to put down the revolt in the Netherlands he must secure at least the neutrality of England. Therefore, in spite of the cruelties of Alva in the Netherlands and the support given by Philip to Catholic risings in England on the one hand, and the piratical expeditions of the English " sea dogs," the help given by Elizabeth to the Netherlands and to Dom Antonio on the other, an uneasy peace continued between England and Spain until 1586, when Philip, to whom Mary Queen of Scots had bequeathed her claim to the throne of England, resolved to conquer England. His scheme was frustrated by the defeat of the Armada.

PHILIP II, 1527-1598

B. France.

France, crippled by civil war and the rivalry between the Guises and Catherine de' Medici, was less dangerous to Philip II than she had been to Charles V. Philip was at first reluctant to join the Guises because he feared that they might succeed in making Mary Stuart Queen of France, England and Scotland, and thus create a rival power to Spain. But when Francis II died in **1560** this fear ceased. Philip, who distrusted Catherine, drew towards the Guises, and finally became head of the League and the strong opponent of Henry of Navarre. This attitude resulted in the war of **1595-1598** and the triumph of Henry.

C. The Revolt of the Netherlands.

The Netherlands illustrated Philip's determination to maintain his own authority and the Roman Catholic religion in his own dominions, and affected his relations with England and France.

Elizabeth declined the sovereignty of the Netherlands in **1575**, but after the expulsion of Mendoza, owing to his share in Throgmorton's plot in **1584** and the rise of the League in France in **1585**, Elizabeth, realising that the danger from Spain was imminent, sent in **1586** an English force under Leicester to help the Dutch. The Dutch joined in the successful English expedition to Cadiz in **1596**.

The Huguenots tended to co-operate with the Netherlands against Philip; Coligny strongly advocated this policy and a French force unsuccessfully besieged Mons in **1572**. In **1580** Catherine, fearing the growing power of Philip, accepted the sovereignty of the Netherlands for Anjou, but his folly ruined his chances.

Philip used his forces in the Netherlands against Henry of Navarre; Parma relieved Paris in **1590** and Rouen in **1592**. The Porto Carrero took Amiens in March, **1597**; its recapture by Henry in September was a great blow to Philip.

D. Result of Philip's Foreign Policy.

The final result of his policy was the loss of the United Provinces, the triumph of Henry IV, the rise of England to the status of a first-class power and the establishment of Protestantism as a recognised religion in England and Scotland and as a tolerated religion in France ; the loss of Spain's maritime supremacy. But it was a system rather than a king that suffered defeat. Philip, following the policy of his house, attempted to establish universal domination and to crush heresy. New conditions made his task impossible in view of the growth of Protestantism and the development of national monarchy.

III. Character.

Philip's devotion to the Roman Catholic Church was deep and sincere. His religious belief helped him to bear with fortitude heavy family bereavements and the agony of his last illness. His religion profoundly affected his policy, for he thought that he had been divinely selected for his great work, and believed that, as the faithful son of the Church, it was his duty to crush heresy by any means. In an age of persecution and unscrupulous diplomacy he proved one of the most cruel of persecutors and one of the most unscrupulous of diplomatists.

By unflagging industry and intense application to business Philip, unlike most of his contemporaries, succeeded in directly ruling his own dominions. He boasted that "with a bit of paper he ruled over both hemispheres"; he issued orders not only for the direction of great problems of foreign policy, but for the maintenance of bull fights and the regulation of dress in Spain. "By his own action [he] kept the machine of State going, held the reins in his own hands and attended himself to every single, even the minutest, article of the harness."¹

¹ Stubbs.

He showed little gratitude to his faithful servants. His suspicions were easily roused ; he organised an elaborate system of espionage ; he showed no mercy to those whom he suspected. By his father's orders Don Carlos was put in prison, where he died, either by his own hand or executed by Philip's orders, 1568. Don John died broken-hearted owing to Philip's failure to support him ; Philip connived at the murder of Escovedo, and in 1578 and 1590 tried, unsuccessfully, to secure the death of Antonio Perez.

But his own tendency to procrastination, which partly explains his delay in making war on England, the enormous volume of business necessitated by his vast domains and the need of securing his permission for new measures led to delay in the execution of his plans and in the communication of his orders, which greatly added to the difficulties of his representatives in the Netherlands ; Requesens, in April, 1575, complained that he had had no communication from Philip for five months. The bureaucracy Philip's methods involved proved corrupt, and their corruption increased his financial difficulties.

His cold and haughty manners aroused the hatred of the Netherlanders, but to Spaniards seemed an assertion of the dignity of his position. He was essentially Spanish, and his own people admired him during his life and after his death revered him as a saint.

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FROM THE ACCESSION OF PHILIP II TO THE DEPARTURE OF ALVA FROM THE NETHERLANDS, 1555-1573

The seventeen provinces of the Netherlands practically formed a republican confederation of more or less independent States, each governed by a Stadtholder nominated by the Emperor.

The provinces adjoining Germany were German ; those near the French border were Walloon and spoke a Romance dialect ; the Flemings occupied the middle provinces, the Dutch the northern. Each province had its own laws and customs. The Dutch were democratic ; in Flanders the powerful nobles of the country districts and the rich merchants of the towns were the chief element.

The provinces were loosely united by subjection to the personal authority of the Lord of the Netherlands ; by representation through their ambassadors in the States-General which rarely met ; by the supreme authority of the Central Court at Mechlin. The Privy Council, Court of Finance and Council of State were responsible for general administration, while each province had its own " States " or Assembly.

The provinces, and especially Brabant, enjoyed great privileges and strongly resented any attempt to limit their independence. Commerce, agriculture and manufactures flourished, and the Netherlands were very rich and very prosperous.

I. Causes of Discontent.

Charles V was popular in the Netherlands. He had been born at Ghent, Flemish was his native language ; he reserved appointments in the Netherlands for natives, and his pleasant manners commended him to his subjects. But his measures roused opposition and, as carried out by his son Philip (who spoke no Flemish,

openly showed his dislike of the Netherlanders and provoked great hatred by his arrogance), led to the Revolt of the Netherlands.

A. Financial

March, **1556** Philip asked the States General to impose taxes to meet heavy debts left by Charles V ; the States-General, greatly irritated by Philip's manner, gave only a part of the sum he desired

B. The Placards, or Edicts.

1550 Issue by Charles V of the last of a series of Placards or Edicts against the Reformation "to exterminate the root and ground of this pest." Philip continued his father's policy.

C. The Inquisition.

Philip continued the Inquisition which Charles had introduced.

D. The Bishoprics.

The ecclesiastical organisation of the Netherlands had been unsatisfactory. There were only three dioceses, which were far too large, and much of the Netherlands lay outside these dioceses and was subject to the jurisdiction of foreign bishops. Charles V had proposed to create six new bishoprics.

1557 Philip II proposed to establish three archbishoprics, of which Mechlin was to be head, and fourteen bishoprics, and to endow them with revenues diverted from monasteries. The bishops were to help the Inquisition. The diversion of monastic lands, the support of the Inquisition, the belief that the bishops would be merely the agents of Philip, provoked strong protests from Catholics and Protestants.

E. The Spanish soldiers.

Philip, in spite of his promise to remove them immediately, kept in the country until October, **1560**, the

Spanish soldiers whom he had used in the recent French war.

Dissatisfaction was aggravated by personal hatred of Philip and the belief that he was "the representative of a hateful foreign despotism."

II. Margaret of Parma, 1559-1567.

Margaret, Duchess of Parma, the illegitimate daughter of Charles V and a Flemish lady, was appointed Regent of the Netherlands on Philip's departure for Spain. She was a woman of ability, inclined to moderate measures, but compelled by Philip to follow a policy of which she disapproved.

By this appointment Philip lost an opportunity of conciliating popular feeling by choosing a local noble. The Consulta, a special council of three, consisting of Barlaymont, Viglius and Granvelle, was regarded as an unconstitutional rival of the regular Council of State.

A. The Greater Nobles.

The presence of the Spanish troops, the continuance of persecution under the Edicts, the unpopularity of Granvelle, now Archbishop of Mechlin and Cardinal, the action of the Consulta aroused strong opposition from the greater nobles, led by William of Orange, as yet a Catholic, and the Counts of Egmont and Horn, who refused to attend the Council of State in which Granvelle was supreme. They therefore urged Margaret to summon the States-General. In March, 1563, they wrote to Philip demanding the dismissal of Granvelle.

The dismissal of Granvelle in March, 1564, and the abolition of the Consulta were followed, in August, 1564, by Philip's order that the decrees of the Council of Trent should be enforced in the Netherlands, and the old discontent revived. Strong protest of William of Orange in the Council against religious persecution, to which many Catholics, as well as all Protestants, objected.

1565. Failure of Egmont's visit to Spain. Philip, who at Bayonne in June had, through Alva, urged Catherine de' Medici to exterminate heresy, refused Egmont's request to mitigate the laws against heresy and by the Edict of Segovia ordered them to be enforced.

B. The Confederates.

(1) The Compromise, 1566.

It was clear that the protests of the greater nobles, with whom Margaret sympathised, were ineffective. Popular indignation led to much lawlessness. The Confederates, or lesser nobles, led by the statesman-like Louis of Nassau, the brave but dissolute Brederode and the accomplished St. Aldegonde, drew up the Compromise in **1566**, in which, while asserting their loyalty to Philip, they bound themselves to resist the Inquisition. William of Orange condemned the Compromise as too violent.

April 5th, **1566** The Confederates presented the Compromise to Margaret. Barlaymont's question, "Is your Highness afraid of these beggars (*ces gueux*)?" led them to adopt the name of "The Beggars."

(2) Mission of Bergen and Montigny.

June, **1566.** Bergen and Montigny sent to Spain to present the Compromise to Philip, who held out vague hopes that the Inquisition might be mitigated, but refused to allow the States-General to be summoned.

July, **1566.** The Confederates at St. Trond demanded full religious toleration.

(3) Iconoclastic outrages, August, 1566.

Protestant fanatics sacked churches in St. Omer, Ypres and elsewhere, and on August 16th-17th plundered Antwerp Cathedral. Margaret, in terror, promised that Reformers should have liberty of worship in places where they had worshipped before, while secretly denouncing Orange, Egmont and Horn

to Philip as traitors and rebels, although the Confederates and William of Orange, who executed some of the leaders at Antwerp, had helped to put down disorder.

These riots greatly weakened the opposition to Philip by alienating the Catholics and also many Lutherans, who blamed the Calvinists for the recent outrages. Margaret was furious at the concessions she had been forced to make.

(4) Defeat of the Confederates, 1567.

The Confederates, knowing they would be held responsible for the disorder, now took up arms, in spite of the advice of William of Orange.

March 13th, 1567. John de Marnix¹ routed and slain at Austruweel, near Antwerp. William of Orange had the gates of Antwerp locked to prevent the citizens from helping Marnix.

April 2nd, 1567. Noircarmes, the Spanish Governor of Hainault, took Valenciennes and butchered the inhabitants.

C. Departure of William of Orange, April 30th, 1567.

William knew that Philip wished to destroy the great nobles as well as the Confederates; he refused to take the oath of fidelity to Philip "without restriction or limitation" which Margaret required; warned Egmont of the danger from Philip and offered to join him in an armed rising. Egmont refused, and William withdrew to Nassau. Some maintain that William ought to have revolted and that, in view of the small number of troops at Margaret's disposal, he might have succeeded and so spared the Netherlands the misery of Alva's tyranny. But the Confederates had received little support; William, though now a Lutheran, objected to Calvinism and the recent outbreaks which he had opposed; although in 1561 he had married Anne, daughter of

¹ Brother of St. Aldegonde.

Maurice of Saxony, he could not rely upon effective help from the German Lutherans; Egmont's refusal led William to retire rather than to undertake a task which seemed hopeless at the time.

D. The Deposition of Margaret of Parma, December, 1567.

Margaret now re-established her authority and adopted a policy of repression; Antwerp submitted in April, 1567, and the submission of Holland brought all the provinces under her rule. She published in May, 1567, an Edict condemning to death all Protestant preachers and their supporters. Many refugees fled to England and founded the cloth trade of Norfolk; by 1573 there were about 60,000 in England and as many in Germany. She resigned in December, 1567, on the appointment of Alva.

III. Alva, 1567 1573.

Philip, who regarded Margaret's measures as too lenient, now sent Alva with 10,000 well-equipped Spanish troops to crush the Netherlands. He entered Brussels August 22nd, 1567. Margaret, whose policy of moderate reform in co-operation with the greater nobles had failed, resigned in December owing to Alva's arrival, which she considered unnecessary as she had established order.

A. Egmont and Horn.

September 9th, 1567. Alva, having deceived Egmont and Horn by a pretence of friendship, suddenly arrested them.

(1) The Council of Blood.

The Council of Tumults, justly nicknamed the "Council of Blood," was established in the first instance to try Egmont and Horn. Alva was President; his deputy was the infamous Juan de Vargas. The other Spanish member was del Rio. Barlaymont and

Noircarmes were also members, but soon withdrew in disgust, and the three Spanish members alone could vote. The Council was established solely by order of Alva and was quite illegal. It at once instituted a policy of extermination; Alva said 18,600 people were executed under his authority and the treasury was enriched by the confiscation of their property.

January 21th, 1568. William of Orange outlawed unless he answered a summons of the Council.

February, 1568. William of Buren, eldest son of William of Orange, kidnapped at Louvain, where he was a student, and taken to Spain, where he was brought up as a Catholic.

(2) Condemnation of Egmont and Horn, 1568

The victory of Louis of Nassau at Heiligerlee on May 23rd, 1568, precipitated the trial of Egmont and Horn.

June 2nd, 1568. They were condemned to death for supporting the Confederates, for favouring Protestants, for conspiring with William of Orange. The condemnation was not warranted by facts; it was utterly illegal because it was pronounced by an illegal tribunal; because Flemings were illegally tried by foreign judges; because two Knights of the Golden Fleece were not tried by their fellows.

June 5th, 1568. Execution of Egmont and Horn in the market-place at Brussels, in spite of protests made by the Emperor Maximilian II and several German princes.

B. William of Orange invades the Netherlands.

William, whose character had been profoundly affected by the difficulties of his position, had now become a Lutheran. He planned a threefold attack: by Huguenots on Artois, by Hoogstraten on the south-east, by Louis of Nassau on Friesland. The first two were easily routed.

May 23rd, 1568. Louis routed AreMBERG at Heiligerlee. Consequent execution of Egmont and Horn.

July 21st, 1568. Alva utterly routed Louis at Jemmingen.

November 17th, 1568. William, outmanœuvred by Alva, fled to France.

The failure of the invasion showed that the Netherlands, cowed by Alva's brutality, were not yet ready for a general rising.

C. Alva's financial demands.

December, 1568. The seizure by Elizabeth at Plymouth of 450,000 ducats lent by Genoese bankers to Philip, and Philip's inability to send adequate financial assistance to Alva, led the latter to demand from the States-General at Brussels a tax of 1 per cent on all property, of 5 per cent on transfers of real property, of 10 per cent on all sales. Strong resistance of the Estates, opposition of Viglius, Aerschot, Barlaymont and the Catholic clergy. The payment of the "hundredth penny" was made once owing to Alva's threats; other demands were withdrawn in return for 2,000,000 florins.

The feeling aroused by Alva's cruelty in the past was now increased by his brutal treatment of Utrecht, which had strongly resisted his demands for money, and by the ruin of trade his policy caused. The country suffered greatly from floods following the destruction of the dykes by storms in 1570; there was much unemployment. The Netherlands were drawing nearer to revolt and the opposition included many Roman Catholics.

[October 16th, 1570. Montigny, who had been in prison for some time, strangled, by order of Philip II, at Simancas.]

D. The Sea Beggars seize Brill, 1572.

The Sea Beggars were daring but piratical seamen who, under the leadership of William de la Mark, had received letters of marque from William of Orange, and

by April, 1570, possessed a fleet of eighty-four ships. Elizabeth had allowed them to use English harbours, but had withdrawn this permission as she did not want to irritate Philip II. Therefore—

April 1st, 1572. The Sea Beggars seized Brill and soon after Flushing and Enkhuysen on the Zuyder Zee. The chief towns of the Northern Provinces, but not Amsterdam, declared in favour of William of Orange as Stadtholder in the name of the King.

The capture of Brill is the beginning of the Revolt of the Netherlands. The war continued for thirty-seven years; "it is the first war of liberation and the pattern and precedent of all succeeding revolutions."—"The Thirty Years' War, the English Civil War and Revolution, the War of American Independence, everything republican, look to this war as part of the throes of its origin."¹

E. Mons.

The seizure of Brill, the alliance with France which resulted from the ascendancy of Coligny,² led to another invasion of the Netherlands by William and Louis of Nassau. Popular feeling was roused by a stirring appeal issued to the people in April by William and by the famous war song *Wilhelmus van Nassouwen*.

May 24th, 1572. Louis, assisted by a Huguenot force under Genlis, captured Mons.

July 15th, 1572. The Northern Provinces at Dort recognised William as Stadtholder, voted him supplies, urged him to expel the Spaniards from the Netherlands, and advocated liberty of worship for Protestants and Catholics.

August 24th, 1572. The cause of the Netherlands was greatly weakened by the massacre of St. Bartholomew, which William called "a sledge-hammer blow." Consequent failure of the French to send to William the strong help Coligny had promised.

¹ Stubbs.

² Page 254.

September 19th, 1572. Owing to the inability of William to relieve him Louis surrendered Mons to Alva, who now established his authority over the Southern Provinces.

F. The Spanish attack on the Northern Towns.

Philip II, dissatisfied with Alva's failure to end the Revolt, had sent, in June, 1572, the Duke of Medina Coeli to supersede him. But Alva retained his governorship and now sent his son Don Frederick, Duke of Toledo, to reduce the Northern Towns. He captured and sacked with the utmost cruelty Zutphen and Naarden.

December 9th, 1572–July 14th, 1573. Siege of Haarlem, where Don Frederick lost 12,000 men. After the city surrendered, 2000 survivors were butchered. But "the independence of Holland may be said to have been won by the defence of Haarlem."¹

September, 1573. Failure of Don Frederick to take Alkmaar.

October 11th, 1573. Alva's fleet destroyed by the Sea Beggars off Enkhuysen.

December 18th, 1573. Alva left Brussels for Spain. He had saved the Southern Provinces, but his fiendish cruelty, of which Philip II approved, had won for him the hatred of Catholics and Protestants, and he had failed to establish Philip's authority over the whole of the Netherlands. "The men of butter," as he called the Netherlands, had proved too strong for him.

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¹ Johnson.

FROM THE APPOINTMENT OF REQUESENS TO THE DEATH OF WILLIAM OF ORANGE, 1573-1584

I. Requesens.

Don Luis de Requesens, Alva's successor, reached Brussels on November 17th, **1573**. He was inclined to moderation, although bound to carry on military operations. William of Orange, who had become a Calvinist in October, **1573**, realising the need of securing foreign aid, offered the crown to Elizabeth and Charles IX, but received little effective aid from either.

A. Military operations.

- (1) February, **1574**. Mondragon was compelled to surrender Middleburg; the rebels secured Zeeland, thus commanding the mouths of the Scheldt.
- (2) April 14th, **1574**. Louis of Nassau defeated and killed by D'Avila at Mooker Heyde.
- (3) November, **1573**-October, **1574**. Siege of Leyden; heroic defence of the burgomaster, van der Werff. The dykes were cut and the city relieved by the fleet of the Sea Beggars "sailing through trees and farm buildings." The most striking achievement of the war.

B. Conference at Breda, March-July, **1575**.

[William gave serious offence to Protestants by marrying, on June 24th, **1575**, Charlotte de Bourbon, a runaway nun, during the lifetime of his imbecile and immoral second wife, Anne of Saxony.]

At Breda the Spaniards agreed to dismiss the foreign soldiers and to summon the States-General, but refused to promise religious toleration and demanded that William should surrender some towns he held. Break-down of the negotiations on the last two points.

C. Death of Requesens.

March 5th, **1576**. Requesens died. His death was hastened by the neglect of Philip and by difficulties caused by lack of money to pay his troops.

D. Grave difficulty of William of Orange.

July, **1576**. A brilliant success of Mondragon led to the capture of Zierickzee, commanding communication between Walcheren and Holland and dominating the northern estuary of the Scheldt ; William, now confined to Holland, lacked men and money ; he failed to secure help from Henry III ; Elizabeth refused the throne of Holland and Zealand.

II. The Interregnum, March–November, 1576.

Philip's procrastination in appointing a successor to Requesens led to an interregnum of eight months and gravely weakened his cause. The Council of State, which directed the Government, was composed solely of Netherlands, some of whom, and especially Aerschot, strongly resented the presence of the Spanish soldiers.

A. The Spanish Fury.

The Spanish soldiers, who had long been discontented, now revolted owing to lack of pay ; the Council of State was quite unable to control them ; led by D'Avila, they seized the fortresses of the chief southern towns and in the " Spanish Fury," on November 4th, **1576**, sacked Antwerp and murdered 8000 inhabitants.

B. The Pacification of Ghent, **1576**.

William of Orange was strengthened by the union of Holland and Zealand in April, **1576**, and by the imprisonment of the members of the Council of State who had Spanish leanings. He profited by the indignation caused by the " Spanish Fury " to reconcile Catholics and Protestants, and secured the agreement of all the provinces to the Pacification of Ghent, November 8th,

1576. The Pacification, which united all the Netherlands, was a treaty between Holland and Zealand on the one hand and the remaining provinces on the other.

It provided that—

- (1) All should unite to expel the Spaniards.
- (2) William of Orange should continue as General for Philip in Holland and Zealand.
- (3) The religious question should be considered by the States-General, and meanwhile the "Edicts"¹ were to be suspended.

C. Military successes.

The Netherlanders speedily regained the citadels of Ghent and Valenciennes, some islands at the mouth of the Scheldt, nearly all of Zealand, Friesland and Groningen.

January, **1577.** The Union of Brussels confirmed the Pacification of Ghent.

III. Don John, November, 1576.

A. The Perpetual Edict.

Don John of Austria, Philip's half brother, succeeded Requesens. He hoped by intrigues with the English Catholics to secure the accession of Mary Queen of Scots to the throne of England, to marry her and become King of England, and welcomed the opportunity which the governorship of the Netherlands might afford of furthering these designs.

Don John reached Luxemburg in November, **1576**, but found William's authority so well established that he dared not enter the Netherlands until he had signed the Perpetual Edict, in February, **1577**, by which he promised that the Spanish soldiers should leave at once and that the liberties of the Provinces should be maintained, while the States-General agreed to accept him as Governor and to maintain the Catholic religion. William of Orange, distrusting Don John and Philip II, prevented Holland and Zealand from accepting the Perpetual Edict.

¹ Page 281, B.

B. William's entry into Brussels, 1577.

September 23rd, 1577. William of Orange entered Brussels amid great rejoicings. He was recognised as leader by Catholics and Protestants and now reached the zenith of his career.

The Northern Provinces formed the foundation of his power. They stood firm for democratic rule in which, as William said, "the general voice of the entire people" was to compel Philip II to assent to their claims; they claimed the right of being taxed by their own representatives; they strongly resented foreign rule; they maintained the Calvinistic idea of the liberty of the individual.

C. The Deposition of Don John, 1577.

Don John had resented his merely nominal authority and had tried to strengthen his position by seizing Namur without the consent of the States-General; he was therefore deposed by the States-General on December 7th, 1577, but remained in the Netherlands as Philip's nominee and the opponent of the States.

D. Growing dissension among the Netherlanders.

(1) The Archduke Mathias.

The departure of the Spanish soldiers broke the bond that united Catholics and Protestants; the Catholic nobles, led by Aershot, became jealous of William and invited the Archduke Mathias, brother of the Emperor Rudolf, to become Governor. He came to Brussels on October 6th, 1577, was strongly supported by William, who was anxious to avoid a breach between Catholics and Protestants, and recognised William as Ruward or Governor of Brabant.

(2) Rising at Ghent, November, 1577.

Seizure and imprisonment by the Gantois of Aershot, the leader of the Catholics, who had been appointed Governor of Flanders—possibly with William's connivance.

(3) Gembloux, 1578.

January 31st, 1578. Utter rout of the Netherlanders by Don John and Alexander Farnese, son of Margaret of Parma, who had been sent with 20,000 Spanish and Italian veterans to the Netherlands. William lost his hold on the southern provinces, left Brussels, but strengthened his authority in the North by securing Amsterdam. The additional Spanish troops constituted a grave danger to the Protestants, and William renewed negotiations with France, England and Germany.

(4) Anjou.

The Catholic nobles, finding Mathias of little use, invited Anjou to become "Defender of the Liberties of the Netherlands." William acquiesced in the offer with reluctance.

E. Death of Don John.

October 1st, 1578. Death of Don John, partly through bitter disappointment at his failure, which was largely due to Philip's neglect. He was not poisoned by Philip.

IV. Alexander Farnese, Prince, later Duke, of Parma, 1578-1592.

Parma, the ablest of the Spanish Governors, succeeded his uncle Don John. He was a great soldier and a good diplomatist. He took full advantage of the dissensions among the Netherlanders, which were increased by the disorders in Ghent, where a Calvinistic majority, assisted by John Casimir of the Palatinate and German troops, had treated the Catholics with great brutality. Formation in the South of a Catholic party called the "Malcontents."

A. The Union of Arras, 1579.

January 6th, 1579. The Malcontents (including Montigny and Egmont, whose fathers had been murdered¹)

¹ Pages 286, 287.

formed a league of Walloons, including Artois and Hainault, to defend Roman Catholicism and secure a reconciliation with Philip II if he would ratify the Pacification of Ghent. In May they came to terms with Parma, submitted to Philip and agreed to allow no worship but the Catholic in their provinces. The Union of Arras proved the foundation of the Spanish Netherlands.

B. The Union of Utrecht, 1579.

January 29th, **1579**. Guelderland, Holland, Zealand, Utrecht, Friesland and, later, Groningen and Overijssel, with Ghent, Bruges, Ypres and Antwerp, formed the Union of Utrecht, under the leadership of John of Nassau, and bound themselves, while not renouncing allegiance to Philip II, to protect each other against attack, to maintain the old privileges, to allow each province to select its own form of religion while allowing freedom of conscience.

The Union of Utrecht was the foundation of the Seven United Provinces. The great scheme of William of Orange, the union into an independent state of the whole of the Netherlands, had finally failed.

C. Parma's victories, 1579-1580.

Parma captured Maestricht, Mechlin surrendered; Count Rennenberg gave up Groningen, and even John of Nassau, William's brother, left Guelderland owing to lack of support. William's support of Anjou, and the vigour with which he suppressed the rising in Ghent, displeased many Protestants; his failure to relieve Maestricht caused great disappointment.

V. William's Last Years.

A. The Ban of the Empire.

June, **1580**. By the advice of Granvelle, Philip put William to the Ban of the Empire and offered 25,000 crowns in gold and a patent of nobility to anyone who should surrender him, dead or alive.

This personal attack on William was also an attack "of absolute and irresponsible despotism against the embodiment of the State as a self-constituted moral organism ; for it was in the Netherlands that, both in theory and practice, that idea was being most clearly worked out."¹

B. William's Apology.

December, **1580**. In his Apology, sent to every court in Europe, William charged Philip with murdering Queen Elizabeth, Don Carlos and the Emperor Maximilian ; described his own efforts and personal losses in the cause of the Netherlands.

C. William, Count of Holland and Zealand.

July, **1581**. William accepted the title of Count of Holland and Zealand and persuaded the Estates to renounce Philip's sovereignty.

D. Anjou.

William, in view of the evil results of John Casimir's intervention and the urgent need of foreign help, again turned to France.

- (1) September, **1580**. By the Treaty of Plessis-les-Tours, Anjou accepted the sovereignty of the Netherlands and promised to maintain all old privileges and the integrity of the country. But Holland and Zealand insisted that the supremacy of William of Orange should be maintained.

Thus the Netherlands were divided into three portions—the north, which acknowledged William ; the south, which had submitted to Philip II ; the centre, which accepted Anjou. It was hoped that as Anjou was a Catholic he might, in spite of his worthless character and previous failure, unite the south and centre against Spain.

[March 18th, **1582**. Failure of Jaureguy's attempt to assassinate William at Antwerp.]

¹ Dr. Hill.

(2) The "French Fury."

January 16th, 1583. Anjou, believing that he was "a puppet of Orange and a prisoner to the States," foolishly tried to seize Antwerp. Two thousand Frenchmen were killed and fifteen hundred captured by the citizens. William, thinking that a French alliance was his only hope, incurred much unpopularity by trying to reconcile the States, incensed by the "French Fury," and Anjou; his marriage to Louise de Coligny, daughter of the Admiral, aroused such resentment that he retired from Brussels to Delft.

June 28th, 1583. Anjou withdrew to France, where he died in 1584.

E. Assassination of William of Orange.

July 10th, 1584. William shot at Delft by Balthasar Gérard.

VI. William of Orange.

William of Nassau, Prince of Orange, was born at Dillenburg on April 25th, 1533. He married (1) Anne of Egmont, the mother of William, who was brought up in Spain; ¹ (2) Anne of Saxony, the mother of Maurice; (3) Charlotte of Bourbon; (4) Louise de Coligny, mother of Frederick Henry. At his death he was fifty-one years old.

A. The greatest Statesman of his Age.

He was a great national leader, determined to regain the ancient rights and liberties of the Netherlands. He saw clearly the dangers that followed from Spanish rule, and was determined "to do my best to drive this Spanish vermin from the land." Realising the inadequacy of his own resources, he attempted, by skilful and patient diplomacy, to secure the foreign help that seemed essential for success. His diplomacy, though at times unscrupulous, was far more straightforward than that of any of his contemporaries. In carrying out his policy he dis-

¹ Page 286

played the greatest courage, steadfastness, resourcefulness and self-sacrifice, and was not diverted from his plans by the ever-present danger of assassination. He made good his motto "je maintiendrai"; he richly deserved the title of "Father" of his country.

His life work was the creation of the United Provinces. He had not prevented the division of the Netherlands, and if he had lived longer probably would not have regained the southern provinces.

B. A strong supporter of religious toleration.

His difficulties were greatly increased by the bitterness with which Lutherans, Calvinists and Anglicans regarded each other.

He was one of the first European statesmen, Catholic or Protestant, to support the principle of religious toleration. He has been termed "the head of the party of humanity."

C. Religion.

His early life was dissolute, his changes of religion were largely due to political reasons, and he was guilty of bigamy in 1575; but his later life was inspired by sincere piety. He declared, "When I took in hand to defend these oppressed Christians, I made an alliance with the mightiest of all potentates—the God of Hosts, who is able to save us if He choose."

D. Military capacity.

He was not a great general, but he showed great constancy in disaster and hopefulness in defeat. His troops consisted largely of mercenaries whose loyalty was weakened by the difficulty he found in raising their pay, or of townsfolk better at resisting a siege than fighting in the field. He wisely avoided battle when possible, and the sieges of the towns cost the Spaniards dear.

Adverse critics accuse him of cowardice on the battlefield; his apologists maintain that he was right in taking care of so valuable a life.

E. General.

He was eloquent ; his correspondence is easy in style, well expressed, thoughtful and kindly. He spoke German, French and Flemish fluently and had a good knowledge of Spanish, Latin and Italian.

He had a great power of winning affection, but did not hesitate to oppose his friends when he thought they were wrong.

“ He went through life bearing the load of a people’s sorrows upon his shoulders with a smiling face. . . . As long as he lived he was the guiding-star of a brave nation, and when he died the little children cried in the street.”¹

References :

Europe in the Sixteenth Century (Johnson), Rivingtons, pp. 344-363.

Rise of the Dutch Republic (Motley), G. Bell and Sons, Vol. III.

Lectures on European History (Stubbs), Longmans, Part II, Lecture VI.

Cambridge Modern History, Vol. III, chap. vi.

FROM THE DEATH OF WILLIAM OF ORANGE TO THE PEACE OF 1609

In spite of the assassination of William of Orange the Union of the Northern Provinces was maintained, and on the day he was killed the States of Holland resolved “to uphold the good cause, with God’s help, without sparing gold or blood.” The States-General nominally exercised the supreme authority, but the Provincial States, of which Holland and Zealand were the strongest, were really more powerful. Parma continued his successes and captured important towns on the Scheldt, including

¹ Motley

Antwerp, which submitted on August 17th, 1585 ; but the Dutch kept Flushing.

The States-General, believing that the only way to promote union among the provinces and to resist the Spaniards was to secure a foreign sovereign, offered the sovereignty of the Netherlands to Henry III and Elizabeth ; both refused the offer, but Elizabeth undertook to send an army and received Brill and Flushing as guarantees for the cost of maintenance. Leicester was appointed Commander of the Forces and Sir Philip Sidney Governor of Flushing in December, 1585.

I. The Earl of Leicester.

A. Leicester's mistakes.

February 4th, 1586. Leicester appointed Governor-General of the Netherlands without Elizabeth's knowledge and greatly to her indignation. Leicester's position was weakened by the efforts Elizabeth made to avert the impending Spanish attack on England by direct negotiations with Parma ; by the prohibition of exports to the Southern Provinces, which injured Dutch trade ; by his unwise choice of councillors from the Southern Provinces ; by the creation of a Chamber of Finance, which interfered with the power of the Council of State and was strongly resented by Holland ; by his persecution of Catholics and determination to make Calvinism the State religion in defiance of the terms of the Union of Utrecht. He resented the authority claimed by the States-General and Provincial States and relied upon the people as against the merchant aristocracy. Lack of financial support compelled him to draw largely upon his private fortune to meet expenses. Thus Leicester had seriously aggravated the religious and political divisions, and only the fact that Parma was busy arranging to co-operate with the Armada in the invasion of England prevented the conquest by Spain of the United Provinces.

B. Military disasters in 1586.

June, **1586**. Parma became master of the line of the Meuse.

October 2nd, **1586**. Sir Philip Sidney killed at Zutphen.

November, **1586**. Leicester returned to England.

C. Leicester's return.

July, **1587**. On the ground of cost and the danger of prolonging the war Elizabeth again refused to accept the sovereignty. Leicester returned to the Netherlands. But the treacherous surrender by their English commanders to the Spaniards of Deventer and Fort Zutphen had inflamed national feeling; the Provincial States, led by Oldenbarneveltdt, Advocate of Holland, claimed superiority over the Governor; Leicester's attempt "to erect a democracy at the expense of burgher oligarchies" proved unsuccessful; the appointment by the States-General of Maurice as Captain-General enraged Elizabeth.

August 4th, **1587**. Parma captured Sluys, which Leicester failed to relieve.

December, **1587**. Elizabeth recalled Leicester. His failure, in difficult circumstances, was due partly to his own tactlessness, arrogance and vanity; but Elizabeth's meanness, her refusal to accept the sovereignty, and her negotiations with Parma were stronger causes.

II. Maurice of Nassau.

In the beginning of **1588** the condition of the Northern Provinces seemed desperate. But the wise statesmanship of Oldenbarneveltdt, the remarkable military skill of Maurice of Nassau, the diversions caused by the Armada and by the intervention of Parma in France in **1590** and **1592**,¹ and the death of Parma in December, **1592**, eased the situation.

¹ Pages 264, 265.

Maurice, helped by his cousin Lewis William of Nassau, Stadtholder of Friesland, reorganised the army, ensured discipline, developed military engineering and saw that the soldiers received their pay.

A. The Expulsion of the Spaniards.

1590. Maurice took Breda, and in **1591** Zutphen, Deventer and Nymwegen.

1592. Maurice drove the Spaniards out of Guelderland and Overysse.

1593. Maurice took Gertruydenberg.

1594. The new Governor, the Archduke Ernest,¹ proved incompetent; Maurice took Groningen. He had thus practically driven the Spanish garrisons out of the United Provinces.

B. France.

1595. Henry IV declared war on Spain, and the need of fighting in France distracted the attention of the Archduke Ernest and his brother and successor, the Archduke Cardinal Albert, from the Netherlands.

1596. The Dutch co-operated with the English in the successful expedition to Cadiz.

1596. Triple alliance of England, France and Holland against Spain.

January 24th, **1597.** Maurice gained a remarkable victory at Turnhout and strengthened his Rhine frontier.

1598. Holland vainly tried to persuade Henry IV not to make the Treaty of Vervins, but succeeded in persuading Elizabeth. In accordance with that treaty the Archduke Albert, who had renounced his vows and married the Infanta Isabel Clara Eugenia, received the sovereignty of the Southern Provinces under the suzerainty of Spain.

Succeeding years were marked by a brilliant victory of Maurice at Nieuport in **1600**; the capture of Sluys by Maurice and of Ostend by Spinola in **1604**; and the

¹ Son of the Emperor Maximilian II and a candidate for the throne of Poland in 1573. Page 329.

complete defeat of the Spanish fleet off Gibraltar by Heemskerck in **1607**.

C. The Prosperity of the United Provinces.

Unlike the Southern Provinces, which had been devastated by the war, the United Provinces were in a flourishing condition. They had become the chief trading country of the world, their fishing trade was very profitable, they imported large quantities of corn and timber from the Baltic; Flemish exiles helped to develop the cloth and linen trades; shipbuilding prospered. The Dutch opened up trade with the Gold Coast, Brazil, and with the East and West Indies, and in **1601** founded their East India Company. Amsterdam superseded Antwerp as a trading centre. The Dutch were able to continue the struggle, largely owing to the vast wealth they had gained by commerce. "Their war for life and death had stirred the sluggish blood of the Dutch people, and had aroused in them a most extraordinary spirit of energy and enterprise."¹

D. The Truce of 1609.

Spinola found great difficulty in securing from Spain the necessary supplies of men and money, and by the end of **1606** became anxious for peace. Negotiations were commenced in **1607**, assisted by the mediation of England and France. In the United Provinces the Republican party, led by Oldenbarneveldt, the Advocate of Holland, and Hugo Grotius, Pensionary of Rotterdam, strongly favoured peace; the army, navy, large towns, the provinces of Holland and Zeeland supported Maurice, who was anxious to continue the war.

A truce was made between Spain and the United Provinces which recognised the latter "as free States over which the Archduke made no pretensions." Philip III did not insist on the grant of freedom of worship for Roman Catholics, and in a secret treaty

¹ *Cambridge Modern History*.

promised not to interfere anywhere with Dutch trade. Largely owing to the efforts of Oldenbarneveltdt the members of the family of Nassau were confirmed in their appointments, received back their estates which had been confiscated by Spain and were excused from paying debts contracted by William of Orange after 1567.

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Europe in the Sixteenth Century (Johnson), Rivingtons, pp. 364-384.

Cambridge Modern History, Vol. III, chap. XIX.

SECTION IX
THE COUNTER-REFORMATION

THE COUNTER-REFORMATION

I. Church Reform, 1500-1540.

A. The early attempts.

The need of reforming ecclesiastical abuses was admitted by all devout Catholics, and Ximenes had undertaken the task in Spain.¹ But the vested interests of the officials of the Curia proved a serious hindrance to reform; the Popes strongly objected to reform through a General Council, which the Emperors and the French clergy supported.

(1) The Oratory of Divine Love.

The Oratory was a band of devout men, including Caraffa, Pole, Thiene, Contarini and Sadoletto, who first met at Rome about 1520 to promote the cause of Church reform.

(2) Adrian VI.

Adrian's attempt to reform abuses proved a failure.²

(3) The Commission of 1537.

The *Consilium de emendanda Ecclesia*, appointed by Paul III and including Contarini, Caraffa, Sadoletto and Pole, condemned abuses in strong terms, but led to no real reform.

(4) New Orders.

The Theatines, founded by Thiene in 1524, and the Capuchins, or reformed Franciscans, tried to apply orthodox doctrine to daily conduct, and the latter did much to keep the Italians in the Roman Catholic Church.

¹ Page 96.

² Page 194

B. Formation of two parties.

Gradually the Catholic Reformers divided into two parties on the question of reconciling the teaching of the Renaissance with the Catholic faith.

(1) The Moderates.

The Moderates, including Contarini and Pole, accepted Luther's doctrine of Justification and tried, unsuccessfully, in the Diet of Ratisbon, **1541**, to effect a compromise between Lutheranism and Roman Catholicism.

(2) The Conservatives.

The Conservative party, of which Caraffa was leader, while admitting the need of reform, affirmed the Scholastic Doctrines of Thomas Aquinas and favoured the maintenance of Papal Supremacy. This party was the larger and proved successful.

II. The Jesuits.**A. Foundation.**

Ignatius Loyola,¹ **1491-1556**, was a Spanish soldier of noble birth. While recovering from wounds he studied the life of Christ and believed that the Blessed Virgin had revealed to him in a vision the organisation of a new society. After a pilgrimage to Jerusalem he studied at Paris, where, on August 15th, **1534**, he with Xavier, Laynez, Bobadilla and three others bound themselves to serve the Church in Jerusalem. Circumstances prevented this and they offered themselves to the Pope.

September 27th, **1540**. Pope Paul III established the Order of Jesuits.

April 4th, **1541**. Ignatius elected first General of the Order.

¹ Don Inigo Lopes Ricalde y Loyola.

B. Organisation.**(1) The six Classes of the Order.**

The Order included novices ; scholastics, who were students and junior teachers ; lay coadjutors, who managed the business of the Order ; spiritual coadjutors, who were the active members, and a parallel class, the professed of three vows, who had not passed the lowest grades ; the professed of four vows. The latter, who in addition to the vows of poverty, chastity and obedience to the General took a special vow of obedience to the Pope and elected the General, who selected from their number the Provincials who ruled over the provinces of the Order.

(2) Discipline.

The Order accepted without question the authority of the mediæval Church and required the absolute surrender of free enquiry and free thought.

All owed strict obedience to the General, who exercised absolute power, except that he could not change the constitution without consent of the General Congregation of the professed of four vows, who could depose him. A complicated system of espionage was organised and every member of the Order was under constant observation ; six assistants were appointed to watch the General. In the *Spiritual Exercises* of Ignatius the method of discipline was expounded.

The Jesuits did not wear monastic dress, and thus escaped the prejudice felt towards monks ; they were exempt from fasts and from the usual daily ceremonies. They mixed freely with the world, played a great part in politics, developed a system of casuistry which made the confessional one of their most effective instruments, and gained great influence over the young by their excellent schools, which soon became the best in Europe.

C. Early History.

Paul IV (Caraffa), **1555–1559**, who was hostile to Spain and showed hostility to the Order, ordered the Jesuits to recite the usual daily Offices and limited the tenure of the Generalship to three years. But these orders were revoked at Laynez's suggestion by Pius IV, **1559–1565**.

1556. Laynez elected Vicar-General, on Loyola's death, and in **1558** General.

Owing to the piety, courage and zeal of its early members the Order spread rapidly in Italy and Spain, more slowly in Southern Germany and, with difficulty, in France; it soon penetrated into India and China—owing to the devotion of its great missionary, Xavier—Africa and Brazil. In **1556** there were two thousand ordinary and forty-five professed Jesuits, organised into twelve provinces and possessing more than a hundred colleges.

The Order proved the great bulwark of Papal claims at the Council of Trent.

III. The Inquisition, **1542**.

The Spanish Inquisition had proved a very effective instrument of monarchy and orthodoxy, but was under the control of the King.

July 21st, **1542**. Paul III, **1534–1549**, at the instigation of Caraffa and with the strong approval of Loyola, set up "The Holy Office," which was to supervise the whole Church under the direct authority of the Pope. It consisted of six, and later twelve, Cardinals with various officials; could proceed directly or on appeal; could alone authorise the publication of books and published the first Index Expurgatorius in **1546**; could *inflict confiscation, imprisonment or death*.

With the failure of the Moderate Party at the Diet of Ratisbon, **1541**, and the foundation of the Inquisition in **1542** the Counter-Reformation began.

IV. The Council of Trent, 1545-1563.

The Popes had long resisted the demand for a General Council to reform ecclesiastical abuses, which had often been made by Catholic princes, because they feared that a General Council might weaken the supremacy of the Papacy. Pope Paul III feared that after the Diet of Spires¹ in 1544 a Council might be called in Germany which without consulting the Pope would effect a reconciliation between Lutherans and Catholics; the Peace of Crépy² made Charles V less anxious to keep on good terms with the Lutherans, and at his suggestion Paul III summoned the Council of Trent, which first met on December 13th, 1545.

The different views of the parties concerned complicated matters. Charles V wanted to reform the Church in its head and members, and had still some hopes of coming to terms with the Lutherans and avoiding the division of Germany into two religious camps; the moderate Catholics hoped for reconciliation with the Protestants; the Pope wished to secure a reassertion and enunciation of traditional Catholic doctrine and to maintain Papal supremacy; neither the Pope nor Charles V fully trusted each other; the Spanish bishops were determined to assert the supremacy of the Council over the Pope.

A. The First Session, 1545.

December 13th, 1545, the Council was opened with an attendance of about forty, of whom the Italians and Spaniards formed the majority. The decision to vote by individuals, and not by nations as at Constance, gave the Papal party a great advantage and caused the Protestants to deny the validity of the Council. It was decided that the questions of dogma, to which the Pope attached greatest importance, and of Church reform and discipline, which Charles V strongly advocated, should be considered concurrently by separate commissions.

¹ Page 205.

² Page 153.

(1) The Rule of Faith.

The Nicene Creed was affirmed, Scripture and tradition were declared to carry equal authority, the Vulgate was pronounced the authorised text of the Scriptures.

(2) Justification.

The moderate Catholics, following St. Augustine, held that justification came through Christ alone and denied the efficacy of works as a means of justification. Largely owing to the efforts of the Jesuits, who, as champions of scholastic dogma and Papal supremacy played a great part in the Council, the efficacy of works was asserted by the Council. Thus reconciliation with the Protestants, which Charles V desired and the Pope opposed, was rendered impossible.

(3) Transference of the Council to Bologna, 1547.

March, 1547. Paul III was alarmed by the growing power of Charles V in Germany, and the Council resolved to adjourn to Bologna. Charles compelled the Spanish bishops to remain at Trent, the Diet of Augsburg refused to recognise the Council at Bologna and Charles issued the Interim.¹

September, 1549. Paul III suspended the Council of Bologna and appointed a commission to reform abuses.

B. The Second Session, 1551-1552.

Julius III, 1550-1555, appointed some commissions of reform, and on May 1st, 1551, the second meeting of the Council of Trent began; but Henry II, angry because Julius III refused to join him against Charles, would not recognise the Council.

Protestant delegates attended, but their assertions that the Scriptures were the sole test of truth and that a General Council was superior to a Pope rendered agree-

¹ Page 211.

ment impossible. The Papal party again resisted the demands of Charles for a General Council, and of the Spanish bishops for reform, because these challenged Papal supremacy.

The Second Session, which had done little but emphasize the final breach between Catholics and Protestants and the differences between Pope and Emperor, was suspended in April, 1552.

C. The Third Session, 1562-1563.

The Third Session, attended by Catholics only, revealed great divergence of opinion. The Germans demanded radical reform, such as the marriage of the clergy, communion in two kinds and the use of the German language in services. The Spaniards objected to any alteration in Church ritual and practice, but desired a reform of the Curia and the weakening of Papal supremacy, particularly over bishops; objected to any reconciliation with Protestants. The French, led by the Cardinal of Lorraine, had threatened to hold a French National Council and now asserted the superiority of a General Council over the Pope. All challenged the claim made by Papal Legates to the sole right of bringing proposals before the Council.

Pius IV and the President of the Council, Cardinal Morone, skilfully played off one nation against another. The Emperor Ferdinand I was won over by the promise of Papal confirmation of his son Maximilian as King of the Romans; the Pope promised to make the Cardinal of Lorraine a Papal Legate in France. The result of the Third, and last, Session was a signal victory for the Papacy.

January 18th, 1562. Opening of the Third Session of the Council.

(1) Doctrine.

The Council, in which Laynez was the leader of the Papal party, asserted the old interpretations of indulgences, purgatory, the ordination and marriage

of the clergy and the worship of saints. The question of Communion in both kinds, which Ferdinand demanded, was referred to the Pope.

(2) Papal Supremacy.

No reforms were proposed for the Papacy, the Cardinals or the Curia. By petitioning Pius IV to confirm its decrees the Council admitted the supremacy of the Pope.

(3) Reform.

The authority of bishops was strengthened and they were enabled to enforce stricter discipline over the lower clergy; parishes were reorganised; provision was made for the establishment of schools.

December 4th, 1563. The Council of Trent was closed.

V. The Results of the Counter Reformation.

A. The Roman Catholic Church.

(1) General.

By completing the breach with Protestantism the Council limited the area of the authority of the Church. But within that area its authority was strengthened. Old abuses were removed, tradition was established, doctrine was strictly defined and "dogmatic certainty . . . was to be the predominating influence for the future in the Church"; the bonds of the scholastic system were tightened. The modern Roman Catholic Church now came into being.

Thus the Counter-Reformation was reactionary, the orthodox were cut off from the culture and science of the North. The attempt to reconcile ecclesiastical authority with the religious and intellectual freedom that resulted from the Renaissance and Reformation had failed, and the struggle between authority and liberty was to lead immediately to the Wars of Religion in France and the Revolt of the Netherlands.

(2) The Papacy.

The supremacy of the Pope over the Church was confirmed ; the Pope alone was to have the right of expounding doctrine and of interpreting the decrees of the Council of Trent. Papal government was centralised ; the Pope became the absolute Vicar of Christ ; the Inquisition and the Jesuits helped him to make his power effective.

(3) A new spirit.

The Roman Catholic Church was inspired with a new spirit. The Popes gave up the attempts to secure temporal power for themselves and their relatives and devoted themselves to further reform of Church abuses and to opposition to Protestantism. Paul III (1534-1549) had attempted to strengthen the Farnese ; Julius III (1550-1555) was selfish ; Paul IV (Caraffa) (1555-1559) had at first shown too much favour to his nephews, but about 1559 vigorously took up the questions of Church reform, doctrinal orthodoxy and moral purity, and under him the Counter-Reformation secured the mastery. Pius V (1566-1572) maintained Church discipline, and forbade the alienation of Church property on pain of excommunication ; excommunicated Elizabeth and encouraged Philip II to crush the Netherlands. Gregory XIII (1572-1585) followed on the same lines, somewhat against his will, and approved of the massacre of St. Bartholomew.

The piety, holiness and devotion which inspired the best of the Roman Catholics find excellent examples in the life of the saintly Carlo Borromeo, Archbishop of Milan ; in the missionary efforts of Francis Xavier and in the labour of St. Francis de Sales.

(4) Learning.

Largely owing to the work of the Jesuits, Catholic scholarship revived. The Scriptures were edited by Catholic scholars, and Sixtus V greatly extended the

Vatican Library, in which Baronius (1538-1607) wrote his great work *Annales Ecclesiastici*.

B. The political side of the Counter-Reformation.

The work of Philip II in crushing heresy in Spain and opposing the Revolt in the Netherlands, and of the Guises in resisting the Huguenots in France, may be regarded as a part of the Counter-Reformation. Where these efforts proved successful they tended to establish a double absolutism of the Crown and the Pope.

C. The extent of the Counter-Reformation.¹

The decrees of the Council of Trent were fully accepted by Italy, Portugal and Poland, ratified by the Catholic princes of Germany at the Diet of Augsburg, 1566, and by the French clergy in 1615. Philip II accepted them subject to the royal authority. The success of the Counter-Reformation on the Rhine and in South Germany was largely due to the work of the famous Canisius, the head of the Jesuit province of Upper Germany.

References :

Europe in the Sixteenth Century (Johnson), Rivingtons, chap. vi.

Cambridge Modern History, Vol. III, chap. xviii.

Lectures on Modern History. Acton, V.

¹ See also pp. 325 (Sweden), 328-331 (Poland).

SECTION X

**THE REFORMATION
IN NORTHERN EUROPE**

DENMARK

During the period of the Reformation Sweden broke away from Denmark. The Danish kings were of German origin, and their possession of part, at times of all, of the Duchy of Schleswig-Holstein gave them a strong connection with Germany. The rivalry with Sweden, which became a very aggressive state, and growing intimacy with Germany, marked the history of Denmark. Christian IV was one of the Protestant princes of Northern Germany, and this partly explains his intervention in the Thirty Years' War in 1625.¹

I. Christian II, 1513-1523.

Christian succeeded his father as King of Norway and Denmark. He endeavoured to extend his authority over Sweden by the murder on November 8th, 1520, of about ninety of the leading Swedes in the Blood Bath of Stockholm, but provoked thereby resistance which soon led to the independence of Sweden.

He remained faithful to Roman Catholicism, and the victims of the Blood Bath of Stockholm were executed nominally for heresy. But he tried to reform ecclesiastical abuses, and passed ordinances which provided for proper visitation of the monasteries, required that the clergy should reside in their own parishes, limited the powers of ecclesiastical courts and abolished appeals to Rome. These ordinances were not enforced, and the unpopularity of the bishops, which was due partly to their vast estates and political influence, still continued.

Although he promoted commerce, learning and

¹ Page 394.

horticulture, reformed municipal government and improved the position of serfs, his arbitrary taxation alienated the nobles and he was deposed from the throne of Denmark, not of Norway, in 1523.

II. Frederick I, 1523-1533.

Frederick I had promised at his accession to maintain Catholicism and put down Lutheranism. But his son Christian, Duke of Schleswig-Holstein, was a strong supporter of Luther, and his daughter married the Lutheran Albert of Brandenburg in 1525. From this time Frederick actively supported the spread of Lutheranism in Sweden.

The preaching of Hans Tausen, "the Danish Luther," and Christian Pedersen's Danish version of the New Testament, which was published in 1529, popularised the movement, which, with the King's support, spread rapidly.

1526. The Papal nominee for the Archbishopric of Lund was set aside; the appointed candidate was confirmed in his post by the King, and "from this time forward no Danish bishop sought Papal confirmation."

1527. In answer to the protests of the Roman Catholic bishops against the spread of Lutheranism, the King declared the right of every man to decide his own religious faith.

1530. An Assembly at Copenhagen accepted Tausen's Confession of Faith. The Reformation made steady and peaceful progress, and soon Roman Catholicism maintained its position only in Elsinore and a few other places.

III. Christian III, 1533-1559.

Christian, Duke of Schleswig-Holstein, succeeded his father, and an attempt to restore Christian II was frustrated with the help of Gustavus Vasa, King of Sweden.

Christian III completed the Reformation in Denmark. The Augsburg Confession was adopted, the Roman Catholic bishops were deprived of their sees, the confirmation of the King was required for Protestant bishops and ministers, ecclesiastical endowments were sequestered and used partly to relieve taxation, partly for education. At the end of Christian's reign the Roman Catholics were harshly treated, but the kingdom as a whole was in a sound condition.

1544. Christian III and his two brothers divided Schleswig-Holstein between them.

IV. Frederick II, 1559 1588.

A. Dangerous power of the nobles.

Frederick II failed to check the great power of the nobles who became supreme, secured immunity from taxation, cruelly oppressed the peasants and often used the Rigsraad, or Council of State, to hamper the action of the King. But the King, in spite of the power of the nobles, could, owing to his power in Schleswig-Holstein and Norway, secure forces which were non-Danish, while the large revenue he drew from the Sound dues and his control of the navy strengthened his position.

B. Sweden.

1563. Frederick, fearing the growing power of Sweden, started the Northern Seven Years' War.¹

C. Schleswig-Holstein.

The Partition of Schleswig-Holstein in **1544** led to difficulties under Frederick II, but he established his claim to Holstein and thus maintained a connection with Germany that was destined to have important consequences.

The later years of Frederick's reign were peaceful, and on his death in **1588** his son Christian IV succeeded to a powerful and not unprosperous kingdom.

¹ Page 324.

NORWAY

In Norway the clergy were not unpopular, and there was no national feeling in support of the Reformation. But gradually the work of Lutheran preachers, who were under the protection of Frederick I, won support for Lutheranism, and the monasteries and churches were plundered, secularised and sometimes destroyed, notably the cathedral of Bergen in 1531.

Archbishop Olaf of Trondhjem persuaded Christian II to reassert his claim to Norway in 1531. The attempt failed, Christian III of Denmark secured the kingdom in 1536 and deprived the Norwegians of the right of electing their King which had been granted to them by his father, Frederick I.

Lutheranism was established, but the failure to provide for education and to ensure the appointment of an adequate number of parish clergy, made the Reformation for many years a doubtful boon.

SWEDEN

During this period Sweden became an aggressive Protestant nation. Her attempt to extend her territory in the Baltic formed the main feature of her policy and combined with her support of Protestantism to lead to the intervention of Gustavus Adolphus in the Thirty Years' War in 1630.

I. Gustavus Vasa, 1523-1560.

The bitter feeling aroused by the Blood Bath of Stockholm resulted in the separation of Sweden from Denmark, and the election of Gustavus Vasa,¹ a Swedish nobleman, as King of Sweden in 1523.

Sweden was poor, its industries were neglected, it was heavily indebted to Lübeck and Gustavus, although

¹ His real name was Gustav Eriksson. He took the name of Vasa from the sheaf, vasa, which was his family crest.

a Catholic, raised money on his accession to pay the debt by a forced loan from monasteries and churches. He also protested successfully against an attempt of Pope Adrian VI to intervene in the election of the Archbishop of Upsala.

1523-1527. The preaching of Olaf and Lars Petersson and the translation of the New Testament into Swedish in **1526**, led to a rapid spread of Lutheran doctrine.

A. The Diet of Vesterås, 1527.

The wars he was compelled to undertake increased Gustavus' financial difficulties. The King had continued his attacks on ecclesiastical property and tried to regain lands granted by his ancestors. Opposition to the authority of the Pope grew rapidly, and the general result was shown clearly by the Diet of Vesterås which decreed

- (1) That all property not actually required by the Church was to be surrendered to the King, and that endowments made since **1454** were to be given back to the grantors.
- (2) That the King's consent was necessary for the appointment of the higher clergy.

Thus the Church lost most of its property and the authority of the King was established over the Church.

The Reformation was helped by the Synod of Örebro in **1529**, which arranged that the Swedish Bible should be read daily in cathedrals, and by the issue, in **1531**, of a Swedish Mass Book which embodied the teaching of Luther.

B. The Act of Hereditary Settlement, 1544.

The King put down some revolts and established absolute power over the nobles as well as the Church. In **1544** hereditary succession in the male line was established for the throne.

C. Trade.

Under Gustavus Vasa trade and manufactures flourished. He gave to Sweden political and ecclesiastical independence and commercial prosperity. He founded a new kingdom on the ruins of the Church.

II. Reaction.

After the death of Gustavus the Reformation was checked, and the prosperity and strength of the country impaired by war.

A. Eric XIV, 1560-1569.**(1) Territorial expansion.**

Eric determined to extend the power of Sweden in the Baltic, and thus commenced a policy which, until 1721, was followed by his successors. To strengthen his position he tried unsuccessfully to marry Elizabeth of England and Mary Queen of Scots.

1563-1570. The Northern Seven Years' War between King Frederick II of Denmark in alliance with Poland, Saxony and Lübeck, against Eric, in alliance with Russia, resulted in disaster.

(2) Home Government.

a. 1561. Gustavus had weakened the monarchy by making his son John master of Finland, Charles of Södermanland, and Magnus of Östergötland. Eric compelled his brothers to acknowledge his authority by the Articles of Arboga.

b. 1562. John, in spite of Eric's opposition, married Catherine Jagello, sister of Sigismund II, the last of the Jagellon Kings of Poland, and was imprisoned. Eric offered John's wife to Ivan the Terrible of Russia.

c. 1567. Eric himself murdered Nils Sture, whose father and brother were also put to death.

(3) The Reformation.

Eric offended the Lutherans by his strong support of Calvinism. From **1563**, owing to the war, the Reformation suffered a serious set back; incompetent clergy were appointed, schools and churches neglected.

1569. Charles and John dethroned Eric, who was murdered by John's orders in **1575**.

B. John III, **1569-1592**.

(1) Catholic reaction.

Largely owing to the strong influence of Queen Catherine, a devoted Catholic, John III tried to effect a reconciliation with the Pope. A new service book, *The Red Book of Sweden*, which was on Catholic lines was adopted; Luther's Catechism was suppressed; the Jesuits came to Sweden; some of the old rights were restored to the Archbishop of Upsala, and with the acceptance by John in **1577** of the decrees of the Council of Trent the Catholic Reaction reached its height.

Its further development was checked by the steady opposition of Charles of Södermanland, who refused to allow *The Red Book of Sweden* to be used in his dominions, and the death of Queen Catherine in **1584**.

(2) Foreign policy.

a. The Northern Seven Years' War.

1570. The war was ended with the Peace of Stettin, both sides restoring their conquests, the Danes retaining part of Southern Sweden.

b. **1570-1583.** War with Russia.

Stephen Báthory, King of Poland, helped John against Ivan the Terrible, and the allies overran Livonia and took Narva in **1581**.

1587. John's son, Sigismund, became King of Poland.

(3) Charles of Södermanland.

Charles, the champion of Protestantism and good government, had steadily opposed his brother John, but weakened the power of Sweden by his claim of independent authority in Södermanland.

1590. John recognised his brother's claims and was reconciled with Charles.

C. Sigismund III, 1592-1604.

In accordance with the Act of Hereditary Succession of **1544**, Sigismund, King of Poland, became also King of Sweden on his father's death in **1592**. His great aim was to promote the cause of Catholicism; "the Jesuits were his counsellors, the Hapsburgs his allies, and the Pope his master."

Charles of Södermanland, in agreement with the Rad,¹ undertook to rule the country until his nephew arrived.

The Reformation.

Knowing Sigismund's devotion to Catholicism the Protestants resolved to assure their position before his arrival.

1593. The Diet of Upsala.

The Diet accepted the Confession of Augsburg and Luther's Catechism, affirmed that the Scriptures were the foundation of doctrine, abolished the *Red Book of Sweden*.

1594. Sigismund came to Sweden, was compelled as a condition of coronation to accept the Upsala Resolutions, was crowned by a Protestant Bishop.

D. The Rule of Charles of Södermanland.

Sigismund soon returned to Poland and Charles governed the country.

(1) Russia.

1595. By the Peace of Teusin, which terminated the war with Russia, **1590-1595**, Russia recognised the right of Sweden to Narva and Esthonia.

¹ Or Parliament.

(2) The deposition of Sigismund.

Sigismund had appointed lords-lieutenant to counteract the power of Charles who lost the support of the Rad, but was enthusiastically supported by the people and nicknamed the "Peasant King."

1598. Civil war broke out and Sigismund was routed at Stangebros.

1599. Sigismund was deposed by the Swedish Diet.

1600. Execution of the leading nobles who had opposed Charles.

1604. Election of Charles of Södermanland as Charles IX.

Sweden was now a strongly Protestant country and Lutheranism became her political as well as her religious faith.

POLAND

I. General.

The Teutonic Order had been compelled to cede Western Prussia, including Danzig, to Poland in **1466**, and came to an end in **1525** when the Grand Master, Albert of Hohenzollern, became a Protestant and was recognised as Duke of East Prussia under the suzerainty of Poland. The Hanseatic League broke up in the fifteenth century; the Order of Knights of the Sword came to an end about **1551**, and Poland profited by the collapse of her rivals. She had become the chief Slav state in Europe, and her political importance was increased by the defeat of the Hungarians at Mohacz in **1526**, which made her the bulwark of Christendom against the Turks.

By the death of Sigismund I in **1548** the Reformed doctrines had spread widely in Poland, and neither the King nor the Church had done much to check them. Albert of Hohenzollern favoured the spread of Lutheranism in East Prussia, and many Polish reformers were trained in the new University of Königsberg which he founded. Calvinism also gained many converts, and about **1548** the Bohemian Brethren, a Protestant sect who had been expelled from Bohemia, came into

Poland. The differences between Lutherans, Calvinists and Bohemian Brethren tended to weaken the Polish Reformation.

II. Sigismund II (Augustus), 1548-1572.

A. The spread of the Reformation.

In the early years of Sigismund II Protestantism gained a firmer hold on Poland, partly owing to the evil lives of some of the Catholic bishops, the exemption from taxation and the wealth of the Church and the jealousy with which the country gentry regarded the clergy. The union of the Bohemian Brethren with the Calvinists in **1555** strengthened the Reformation, but it was weakened by the jealousy of Calvinists and Lutherans, and, from about **1551**, by the increase in the Unitarians of whom the Socinians were the most famous section. The judicious moderation of the King, who gave toleration to Protestants and prevented persecution, distinctly helped the Reformation, although he passed some laws against the movement.

B. The beginning of the Counter Reformation, c. 1560.

The Protestants were weakened by a bitter quarrel between the Unitarians and Calvinists in **1562**, and the union of the Lutherans, Calvinists and Bohemian Brethren in **1570** came too late to save their common cause. The dissensions between the Protestant parties, the skill of the Papal Legate Commendone, and the arrival of the Jesuits were among the chief causes of the Counter Reformation in Poland.

1563-1564. Commendone reformed some of the worst abuses of the Church, persuaded Sigismund to accept the decrees of the Council of Trent and to forbid Poles to accept the reformed doctrines. In **1564** the Jesuits appeared in Poland and soon obtained a control of the higher education of the country which, in their efficient hands, became an effective weapon against the Reformation.

C. The Union of Poland and Lithuania.

1569. By the Union of Lublin, Poland and Lithuania became a united country. The union strengthened Poland, but aroused the jealousy of Russia and the Scandinavian States.

1572. Death of Sigismund II, the last of the Jagellon house, which had reigned in Poland since **1386**.¹

III. Henry of Valois, Duke of Anjou,² **1573-1575.**

1573. During the interregnum the Compact of Warsaw established complete toleration for all Protestants.

A. The Election.

The Archduke Ernest of Austria, son of the Emperor Maximilian II, and Henry of Valois were the chief of the five candidates for the throne. National hatred of the Hapsburgs proved fatal to the Archduke. Henry won over the Protestants, by assuring them that toleration was to be granted to the Huguenots, and the Catholics by professions of orthodoxy. He swore to observe the Compact of Warsaw, to pay for a fleet in the Baltic, to maintain an army for service against Russia, to marry the late King's sister, the Princess Anna.

May 11th, **1573.** Henry of Valois elected King of Poland.

B. The Flight of King Henry, **1574.**

Henry soon found his position unbearable. His chief supporters, the Zborowskis, were most unpopular; the Catholics wished him to annul the Compact of Warsaw; his dissolute conduct and his refusal to marry Princess Anna caused strong feeling. He became King of France, owing to the death of his brother Charles IX, in May, **1574**, and on June 18th, **1574**, to the great indignation of the Poles, fled secretly from Cracow.

May, **1575.** On Henry's refusal to return to Poland he was deposed.

¹ See Part I, page 293.

² Page 256.

IV. Stephen Báthory, 1575–1586.**A. Election.**

The Emperor Maximilian II was elected by the Senate in December, **1575**, but, owing to the refusal of a large party, led by Jan Zamoyski, to accept a German King, the Diet a few days later elected Stephen Báthory, Prince of Transylvania, who promised to marry the Princess Anna. The Sultan of Turkey threatened to invade Austria if Maximilian persisted in his attempt to secure the Polish throne.

1577. Báthory finally established his position by the capture of Danzig.

B. War with Russia.

- (1) **1582.** A successful war with Russia resulted in the cession of Livonia to Poland and the exclusion of Russia from the Baltic coast line.
- (2) Báthory, with the approval of Pope Sixtus V (**1585–1590**), determined to take advantage of the death of Ivan the Terrible in **1584** and to conquer Russia as a preliminary to driving the Turks out of Europe. His death, in **1587**, prevented any attempt to realise this plan.
- (3) By skilful diplomacy he maintained peace with the Sultan and the Emperor, who were alarmed at the growing power of Poland.

C. Domestic Policy.

Báthory relied mainly upon his great Chancellor, Jan Zamoyski; his military policy was gravely hampered by the reluctance of the Poles to grant the necessary supplies, and he was compelled to draw largely on the resources of Transylvania.

He was a strong Catholic and supported the Jesuits, whose continued promotion of education greatly strengthened the Counter Reformation in Poland.

His early death was a calamity for Poland which, in his short reign, had been greatly strengthened owing to his diplomacy and military genius.

V. Sigismund III, 1587-1632.

Sigismund, the son of John III of Sweden, was elected King of Poland by the nobles in August, 1587, largely owing to the influence of Zamoyski. Within a week the Senate elected the Archduke Maximilian, brother of the Emperor Rudolf II, who invaded Poland, but was routed and made prisoner at Pitschen in January, 1588. Sigismund was unpopular owing to his nationality and ungenial manner; the nobles were very powerful and the Crown weak in the country which was always called the "Republic of Poland." Sigismund desired to resign, but was compelled by Zamoyski and the remonstrance of the Pope to remain on the throne; but he never succeeded in gaining the support of the nation, and was suspected of sacrificing the interests of Poland to his desire to secure the Crown of Sweden which he lost in 1599.¹

A. The Counter Reformation.

His mother's influence and the education he had received from the Jesuits made Sigismund III a strong Catholic, and his marriage to Anne of Austria in 1592 secured him the help of the Hapsburgs against both Protestants and Turks. His wars with Sweden and Russia were partly due to his hope that victory would enable him to establish Catholicism in both countries. In Poland, where the Jesuits exercised strong influence over him, he practically abolished toleration, excluded the Protestants from office, took their churches from them and restricted their education. He made Poland a Catholic country. The success of the Counter Reformation strengthened Sigismund in his wars against Sweden.

¹ Page 327.

B. Wars.

(1) Sweden (see pages 326-7).

(2) Russia.

1610. Sigismund took advantage of the divisions in Russia to get his son Ladislaus elected Tsar. But in **1613** Michael Romanov secured the throne.

1618. Ladislaus invaded Russia, marched on Moscow. He was repulsed, but Russia ceded Smolensk.

(3) The Cossacks of the Ukraine.¹

The Ukraine had come under Polish rule in **1386**, when Jagello, Duke of Lithuania, had been elected King of Poland. A closer union had been effected by the Union of Lublin, **1569**, which guaranteed the maintenance of the Greek Church in Lithuania. Stephen Báthory had organised the Cossacks and made them a valuable military force, but Sigismund alienated them by greatly weakening their military power and trying to compel them to give up the Greek Church and become Roman Catholics. His action led to several rebellions in Lithuania and a growing sympathy between the Cossacks and Russia.

(4) The Turks.

In the beginning of Sigismund's reign the Turks, who threatened his south-eastern frontier, had been defeated, but in **1612** they recovered Moldavia which they succeeded in holding.

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¹ i.e. the Northern Cossacks as distinguished from the Southern Cossacks of the Don.

SECTION XI

**FRANCE IN THE EARLY SEVENTEENTH
CENTURY**

HENRY IV, 1598-1610

1598. The Edict of Nantes in April and the Peace of Vervins in May closed the first period of Henry's reign.¹ The period from **1598-1610** was devoted to the establishment of absolute power in France, the reform of the finances and the development of Henry's "Great Design" of foreign politics.

1599. Henry divorced Margaret of Valois. Death of Gabrielle d'Estrées.

1600. Henry married Marie de' Medici.

I. The Establishment of the Royal Power.

Henry had been compelled to win the support of some of the nobility by large bribes and territorial concessions; the Wars of Religion had promoted the growth of faction; the remains of the old Politiques, including Montmorency and Biron, thought that they were neglected; the Huguenots were disappointed that they had not secured immediately the conditions laid down in the Edict of Nantes; Spain, though nominally at peace, was always ready to give secret support to plots against Henry.

A. The nobles.

(1) Biron.

Although Henry had made Biron a Marshal, a Duke and Governor of Burgundy, his ambition and vanity were not satisfied. He intrigued with the Duke of Savoy, who wished to regain Saluzzo and promised Biron his daughter's hand, with Milan, Spain, discontented Huguenots like Bouillon, the Count of

¹ Pages 267, 268.

Auvergne, half brother of Henry's new mistress, Henriette d'Entragues, who was angry because Henry had not married his sister.

1601. Partly owing to the efficiency of the artillery which Sully¹ had organized the Duke of Savoy was defeated and compelled, by the Treaty of Lyons, to cede to France Bresse, Bugey, Valromey and Gex, but was allowed to keep Saluzzo.

1601. Henry, anxious to save Biron from his own folly, sent him as ambassador to Elizabeth, who warned him, by the example of Essex, of the danger of treachery.

1602. On his return he renewed his schemes for a division of France and, after condemnation by the Parliament, was executed.

(2) Auvergne.

1605. Failure of a plot formed by Auvergne and the House of Entragues.

(3) The South.

1605. Henry reduced the turbulent nobles of the Limousin, Languedoc and Provence, destroyed their strongholds and executed some of the leaders.

(4) Bouillon.

1606. Henry seized Sedan, the capital of Bouillon, who had vainly tried to stir up the German Protestants and the Huguenots against Henry.

B. The Huguenots.

The Huguenots were dissatisfied.

Henry was anxious to remain on good terms with the Pope, whose sanction was necessary for his divorce; he allowed the Jesuits to return to France in **1603**; the Huguenots resented the limitation on their assemblies imposed by the Edict of Nantes, regarded the Pope as Antichrist and insisted on their right of political assembly.

¹ Rosny was created Duke of Sully in 1606.

1605. The Huguenots were won over by Sully and conciliated by permission to hold their fortified places until **1612**.

Thus by **1606** the royal power was firmly established.

II. Internal Reform.

A. Administration.

- (1) After the capture of Sedan in **1606** Henry placed in every province a royal officer to control the Governor.
- (2) **1604.** The *Paulette* made the judicial offices hereditary in return for an annual payment, and thus created the *noblesse de la robe*, a magisterial caste who would tend to support the Crown.

B. Finance.

- (1) The condition of France in **1598**.

At the end of the Religious Wars the finances of France were in a hopeless condition. The *Taille* was not uniformly levied ; in some places it was levied on property, in others only on land ; the lands of the nobles and the Church were exempt. In each province the *Taille* was farmed to an Intendant who sub-let the contract to agents in different places ; as a result the Government received only one-quarter of the taxes paid ; the system led to wholesale corruption and caused great suffering, particularly to the peasants. The *Gabelle*, or salt tax, was a capitation tax based on the amount of salt each person was supposed to require ; it led to wholesale corruption and smuggling and the cost of collection amounted to one-quarter of the amount produced. Excise (*Aides*) and Customs (*Douane*) duties added to the cost of living and increased the price of corn. Military governors raised money and stores for their troops by making, by their own authority, on their districts levies of which they gave no account to the Treasury.

As a result of this vicious system the public debt

in 1598 amounted to 350,000,000 livres and the royal revenue came to only 23,000,000 livres ; royal domains had been pledged to raise money.

(2) The Superintendent of the Finances.

1598. Henry made Maximilian de Béthune, Baron Rosny, Superintendent of the Finances. He was created Duke of Sully in 1606. He was a man of somewhat unpleasant manner, but incorruptible, of marked financial ability. He did not introduce a new system of finance, but by honest and effective administration he diminished corruption and greatly increased the revenue.

He checked the rapacity of the Intendants, compelled military and provincial governors to give up their system of arbitrary levies and to apply to the Treasury for money required for their soldiers, suspended many financial officers and abolished illegal exemptions. He remitted irrecoverable arrears of the *Taille* ; recovered much of the alienated royal domain.

By 1609 the royal revenue amounted to 39,000,000 livres, the debt had been reduced by one-third and a treasure of 41,000,000 livres had been accumulated.

C. Agriculture.

Sully promoted the development of agriculture, and Henry said he wished " that every peasant might have a fowl in his pot on Sundays." The restrictions on the export of corn were removed ; the silkworm was introduced into France ; waste land was reclaimed and marshes drained.

D. Commerce.

Sully did little for manufactures, which owed their development to the direct interest of the King, who encouraged the growth of industry and manufacture, particularly the silk trade of Lyons, the pottery and glass of Paris and the woollen and iron trade. Commerce was helped by the development of transport, by

the construction of a canal between the Loire and Seine, the improvement of roads, rivers and bridges and the reorganisation of the posts. Commercial treaties were made with Turkey, England and Holland. The sanitation of Paris was improved ; Marseilles became a great port.

III. Foreign Policy.

Henry was determined to remain Catholic and to oppose the Hapsburgs.

A. France and Spain.

In spite of the Peace of Vervins an undercurrent of hostility continued between France and Spain. Henry encouraged the operations of the Turks against Spain and Austria ; assisted the Dutch, who were still at war with Spain, with supplies of men and money ; supported the Moriscos in their last revolt, which was crushed in **1610** By establishing friendly relations with the Duke of Savoy, winning the friendship of the Grand Duke of Tuscany, securing the control of the Valtelline and concluding in **1607** a treaty with Venice, Henry strengthened his influence in the north of Italy, weakened that of Spain, which still held Milan, and rendered communication difficult between the Spaniards in Spain and the Hapsburgs of Austria. In **1608** Henry concluded an alliance with the United Provinces.

Spain tried in **1601** to seize Marseilles ; supported the conspiracies of Biron and Auvergne ; Queen Marie de' Medici favoured the Spanish party in France.

B. The Great Design.

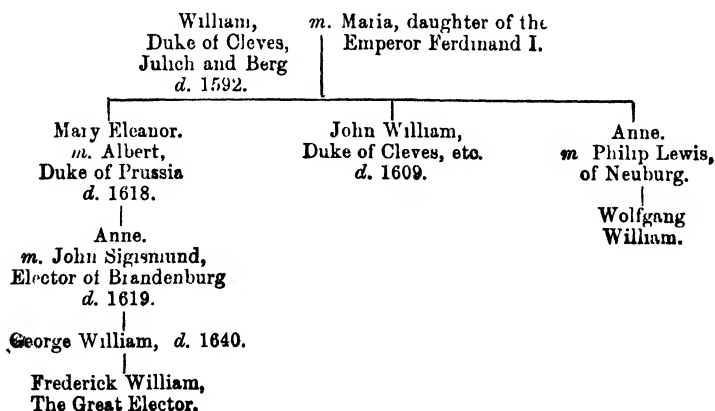
The main object of Henry's foreign policy was the weakening of the power of the Hapsburgs, and to secure this he tried to secure the assistance of the Protestants on a basis of mutual toleration of religion and the suppression of persecution. Sully states that Henry wished to establish a Christian republic of fifteen states, of which the Emperor and the Pope were to be the two

heads. The republic was to deprive the Hapsburgs of Germany, Italy and the Netherlands, leaving them only Spain and the Spanish colonies. Although it is certain that so far-reaching a scheme was never formulated by Henry, he undoubtedly wished to co-operate with the Dutch and North Germans against the Hapsburgs. The death of Elizabeth in 1603 and the weakness of James I precluded the co-operation of England.

C. The position in 1609.

By 1609 France had been strengthened by Sully's financial policy, while his ability as Master of the Arsenal had greatly improved the artillery. Henry had helped his allies, the Dutch, to secure from Spain the recognition of their independence and could count on their support. In 1608 the Lutherans and Calvinists of Germany, with Henry's strong approval, had formed the Evangelical Union to resist the Hapsburgs, whose power was weakened by differences between the weak Emperor Rudolf and his brother the Archduke Mathias and by the formation in 1609 of the Holy League, which "aimed at a Catholic Germany as distinct from the Hapsburg Empire."

D. The Cleves-Jülich succession.



1609. Death of John William, Duke of Cleves, Jülich and Berg.

(1) The Claimants.

The duchies were Catholic, but John Sigismund, Elector of Brandenburg, who had married the daughter of John William's elder sister, and Philip Lewis, Count of Neuburg, who had married the late Duke's younger sister, were Protestants. Wolfgang William, son of Philip Lewis and nephew of John William, claimed the duchies as next of kin.

(2) The Emperor.

Rudolf, fearing lest if either John Sigismund or Lewis succeeded, Lutheranism would be established by the new Duke in accordance with the provisions of the Peace of Augsburg,¹ sent an army to occupy the duchies.

(3) The danger to Protestantism.

The establishment of Hapsburg power on the Lower Rhine seemed dangerous to German Protestants, the Dutch and the French.

(4) The Duchess of Condé.

The Spaniards refused to surrender the Duke and Duchess of Condé, who had fled to Brussels to escape from Henry, who had fallen in love with the Duchess. This refusal strengthened Henry's determination to make war against the Hapsburgs.

(5) Henry's plans.

Henry determined to support the Protestant candidates; formed a League with England, Holland, the German Protestants, Venice and Savoy; arranged for armies to attack Navarre and Milan (to be given to Savoy); and proposed to lead a third to occupy Jülich and, probably, afterwards to attack the Spanish

¹ Page 212.

Netherlands and make Maximilian of Bavaria Emperor instead of Rudolf.

The assassination of Henry saved the Hapsburgs from almost certain disaster.

E. Assassination of Henry IV.

May 14th, 1610. Henry assassinated in Paris by Ravallac. Popular rumour accused the Jesuits, the Entragues, the Spanish Court and even Queen Marie de' Medici of instigating the assassination. It seems probable that Ravallac alone was guilty.

IV. Henry IV.

A. Private character.

Henry's undaunted courage, which enabled him to persevere in his policy in spite of seventeen unsuccessful attempts to assassinate him, his affability and chivalry, made him a national hero.

But he made religion the servant of political necessities, and his gross immorality, perhaps originally due to the schemes of Catherine de' Medici, not only tarnished his reputation but interfered with the interests of his country.

B. A statesman.

He was a great administrator, a tactful diplomatist. He had a true love for his people. His greatest achievements were the Edict of Nantes and his administrative reforms.

C. A soldier.

He appreciated the importance of artillery, he proved himself a clear-sighted, vigorous and resourceful general. By reorganising the commissariat, ensuring regular pay and maintaining discipline he greatly improved the French army.

D. General.

"He found France in an abyss of misery and he left her capable of becoming what she became, for good or evil, under Louis XIV the arbiter of the whole of Europe." In his reign we see absolute monarchy at its best, and perhaps absolute monarchy alone could have saved France ; ' but the system he inaugurated, owing to its repression of constitutional development, led ultimately to the French Revolution.

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RICHELIEU, 1585-1642

Armand Duplessis de Richelieu belonged to a noble house of Poitou. He was born in Paris in 1585 ; he adopted the profession of arms, which he relinquished to become Bishop of Luçon in 1606 ; at the States-General in 1614 he acted as orator for the clergy and soon gained the favour of the Queen-Mother and the Concinis ; was made Secretary of State for War in 1616 and became Cardinal in 1622.

May 4th, 1624, became Minister, and from that time until his death in December, 1642, really ruled France.

I. France in 1624.

A. Marie de' Medici.

The Queen-Mother became regent for her young son, Louis XIII, on the assassination of her husband, Henry IV, in 1610. She reversed Henry's policy, de-

serted the German Protestants, established friendly relations with Spain and in 1612 betrothed Louis XIII to Anne of Austria, daughter of Philip III. For a time, partly owing to the treasure Sully had accumulated, Marie kept her position and gave her confidence to Concini, whom she created Marquis d'Ancre.

1615. Louis XIII married Anne of Austria.

B. The nobles.

The Princes of the Lilies, led by the Huguenot Prince de Condé, actuated by purely selfish motives, rose in rebellion, but in 1614 and 1615 were won over by bribery. The States-General, summoned in 1614 by Marie, in the hope that they would counteract the power of the nobles, did nothing and were not summoned again until 1789.

1617. The King resented the authority of the Queen and the influence of D'Ancre; murder of D'Ancre and execution of his wife. Queen Marie withdrew from the court. The Duke of Luynes became the King's minister, but proved dishonest and incapable.

1620. Mary regained some of her influence owing to a rising of the nobles, under Epernon, Mayenne and Vendôme, in her favour.

C. The Huguenots.

The political privileges they had secured by the Edict of Nantes made the Huguenots a state within the state. They had resented the marriage of the King to Anne of Austria. They were frightened by the establishment of Catholicism in Béarn in 1620, formed plans to establish a "Republic of the Reformed Churches in France and Béarn," and divided their territory into circles. War broke out, but by the Peace of Montpellier, October 19th, 1622, the Huguenots, while retaining religious toleration, had to surrender all their guaranteed towns except La Rochelle and Montauban, and to give up the right of holding political assemblies.

The Peace of Montpellier "marks the first great step taken by the Crown towards the destruction of the Huguenots as a political organisation." The task of Richelieu was to re-establish the absolute power of the King by breaking the power of the nobles and the Huguenots and resisting the Spanish policy of the Queen-Mother.

II. Richelieu and the Valtelline, 1624-1626.

A. The danger from Spain.

Spain held Cerdagne and Roussillon in the south of France and therefore could easily attack Languedoc, which, owing to Huguenot influence, was disaffected; her possession of the Spanish Netherlands gave her command of much of the Somme Valley; in 1620 Spain had seized the Valtelline, which ensured communication between Milan and the Netherlands. Richelieu, realising the danger from Spain, continued Henry IV's policy of opposition to the Hapsburgs, which was for many years to form the leading feature of French foreign policy.

B. Richelieu's policy.

1624. Richelieu made the Treaty of Compiègne with the Dutch and arranged for the marriage of Henrietta Maria and Charles (I) of England. His purpose was for his allies to fight Spain in the north, while the French attacked the Valtelline.

C. The war.

1624. The French took the Valtelline and assisted the Duke of Savoy in his attack on Genoa.

1625. Death of James I in March. Marriage of King Charles and Henrietta Maria in June.

1625. Richelieu diverted Mansfeld from the Palatinate to the Netherlands, where, though he failed to relieve Breda, which Spinola captured in June, he helped Frederick Henry of Nassau, who had become Stadtholder of Holland on the death of his brother Maurice in April.

D. The Treaty of Monzon, 1626.

While the war was going on Richelieu had to face difficulties at home. He feared that the Spanish party, headed by Marie de' Medici, might persuade the King to reverse his policy; the Huguenots, under Soubise, rose at La Rochelle, but were defeated. Difficulties at home compelled Richelieu to conclude with Spain the Treaty of Monzon, which left the Valtelline under the authority of the Grisons, with guarantees for Catholic worship, but forbade the Spaniards to march through the valley.

The Treaty of Monzon reversed Richelieu's policy; but it gave him time to crush opposition at home and, when this was done, to renew his designs against the Hapsburgs with greater vigour.

III. The Nobles and the Huguenots, 1626-1629.

Richelieu, now free from the Spanish war, determined to crush the nobles and the Huguenots.

A. The nobles.

1626. A plot to depose Louis XIII and kill Richelieu was formed by Vendôme, Gaston d'Anjou,¹ the Count of Chalais and other nobles, who were irritated by edicts forbidding duelling and ordering the destruction of all fortresses except those on the frontier. Richelieu suppressed the plot, Chalais was executed, Vendôme was exiled and in **1627** Montmorency-Bouteville was executed for fighting a duel in Paris.

Richelieu showed by these stern measures that he was determined to crush the nobles.

B. England.

Difficulties arose with England because Charles I could not keep his promises to tolerate Roman Catholicism in England and to allow Queen Henrietta Maria to direct the education of their children. The English resented the refusal of Louis XIII to give Mansfeld a passage through France to the Palatinate.

¹ Created Duke of Orleans in 1626.

C. La Rochelle, 1627-1628.

1627. La Rochelle again revolted ; Languedoc rose under Rohan.

July, **1627.** Buckingham sailed to relieve La Rochelle, now besieged by Richelieu, but instead of sailing to the mainland, where he might have raised the siege, he unsuccessfully attacked Fort Martin, in the Isle of Rhé, and was compelled to return to England in November.

Richelieu, with great skill, blocked the harbour of La Rochelle with a mole and starved the city into surrender, October 29th, **1628.**

The political privileges of La Rochelle were abolished, its walls thrown down ; but the Huguenots were allowed freedom of worship.

D. Languedoc.

The Peace of Alais, June, **1629.**

1629. Richelieu invaded Languedoc ; Rohan, failing to get help from Spain, submitted ; surrender of Montauban.

The Peace of Alais ensured liberty of worship to the Huguenots, but broke their political power and required them to surrender their guaranteed towns.

Thus a political party which had often resisted the Crown and made alliances with its enemies was finally broken—"there could never again be a militant Protestant party in France" ; while the faithful observance of the promise of religious toleration secured the fidelity of the Huguenots.

IV. Richelieu's History from 1629-1635.

A. Mantua, 1627-1631.

1627. On the death of the Duke of Mantua and Montferrat the Emperor Ferdinand II, at the request of Philip IV, seized the duchies, which commanded the road into the Tyrol, to prevent the next heir, the Duke of Nevers, a Frenchman, from succeeding. Spanish troops invaded the duchies ; heroic resistance of Casale, the key to the position.

1629. The Huguenot rising in Languedoc led to the failure of Louis XIII's attempt to raise the siege of Casale.

1630. Richelieu raised the siege of Casale and took Pinerolo.

1631. By the Treaty of Cherasco the Duke of Nevers got Mantua and the French retained Pinerolo. Her possession of Pinerolo, the gateway of Italy, and her new alliance with the Duke of Savoy strengthened France in the south-east.

B. The Day of Dupes, November, 1630.

The Queen-Mother, Queen Anne, Guise, Orleans, Basompierre and other nobles persuaded Louis to appoint Marillac commander of the army. The next day Richelieu, in an interview with Louis at Versailles, re-established his influence. Execution of Marillac; flight of Marie de' Medici to Brussels, of Gaston d'Orleans to Lorraine. Richelieu now made Duke, and Governor of Brittany.

C. Orleans and Montmorency.

1632. Gaston d'Orleans, Richelieu's persistent enemy, arranged for an army of Lorrainers and Spaniards to invade the East and for Montmorency to stir up a rising in Languedoc. Failure of both attempts. Execution of Montmorency, the last of his line, in October, **1632**; Orleans allowed to escape to Brussels; many nobles executed or imprisoned, and many castles destroyed by Richelieu, who replaced noble provincial governors by his own supporters.

1634. Gaston, deserting his mother, Queen Marie, was reconciled to the Cardinal.

D. The Academy.

1635. By Richelieu's advice Louis XIII established the Academy.

E. Richelieu and the Thirty Years' War, 1630-1635.

(1) Negotiations.

Richelieu had gained great credit for his intervention in Italy; he had made peace with the Huguenots and now, although at peace with Spain and Austria,

carried on very skilful diplomacy to weaken the Hapsburgs in Germany.

1630. At the Diet of Ratisbon, Father Joseph, Richelieu's agent, tried to separate Bavaria and the Catholic League from Spain and Austria. Partly owing to his diplomacy, Ferdinand II was compelled to dismiss Wallenstein.

1631. Treaty of Bärwalde with Gustavus Adolphus. France promised supplies for six years; Gustavus agreed not to attack Bavaria or the Catholic League, which Richelieu hoped to detach from Austria.

(2) Gustavus Adolphus.

1631-1632. The success¹ of Gustavus Adolphus, who refused to become a tool of Richelieu, made him the leading figure on the Protestant side. After his victory of Breitenfeld he marched against Southern Germany and compelled Bavaria, in self-defence, to side with the Hapsburgs. Gustavus thus checked the influence of Richelieu.

(3) France declares war, **1635.**

November 16th, **1632.** The death of Gustavus at Lützen gave Richelieu an opportunity of re-establishing his influence and of continuing his policy of weakening Austria. He gradually became the arbiter of Europe.

1633. The French invade Lorraine.

1634. The rout of Bernard of Saxe-Weimar at Nördlingen compelled the German Protestants to look to Richelieu for protection, and by the end of **1634** France was holding Lorraine and Imperial territory extending from Basle to Coblenz. France took the leading part in the League of Heilbronn; Bernard entered the service of Louis XIII; French garrisons occupied the Palatinate; Richelieu gave subsidies to the German Protestants.

May 19th, **1635.** Richelieu declared war on Spain.

¹ Pages 397, 398.

V. Richelieu's Last Years, 1635-1642.

A. The Thirty Years' War (see page 406).

B. The Development of the Absolute Power of the Crown.

(1) The nobles.

1642. Cinq-Mars, jealous of Richelieu and encouraged by Gaston d'Orleans and the Duc de Bouillon, planned a rising and entered into treacherous negotiations with Spain. The movement was easily suppressed. Cinq-Mars and De Thou were executed ; Bouillon gave up Sedan.

Richelieu had completely crushed the Court party, which hated him and leaned towards Spain. Two hundred of the greatest nobles had been punished by banishment, imprisonment or execution. Their castles had been destroyed, and the development of the French infantry, in which the nobles were unwilling to serve, weakened their influence in the army.

(2) Intendants.

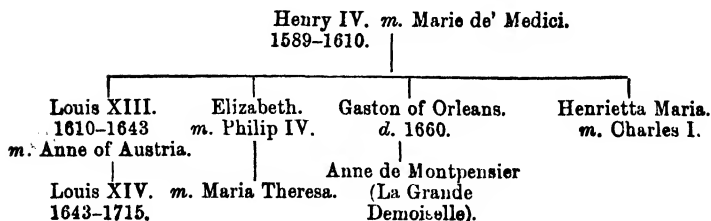
1637. Royal officials, or Intendants, were appointed with complete control of the administration of the provinces.

(3) The Parliament.

1641. The Parliament was compelled to register immediately all Royal Edicts, and thus lost political power.

(4) The Dauphin.

September 5th, **1638.** The birth of Louis (XIV) deprived his uncle, Gaston d'Orleans, of his position as heir to the throne and greatly weakened the Court party.



VI. General.

A. The creator of absolute monarchy.

(1) Richelieu's theory of monarchy.

Richelieu made the French monarch the ruler of a united kingdom and absolute head of a highly centralised government. "Kings," he said, "are the living images of God. . . . The first thing I considered was the majesty of the King, the second was the greatness of the kingdom." His ideal was a submissive people ruled by an absolute monarch.

With this object he broke the power of the unruly nobles, deprived the Huguenots of their political privileges, reduced the Parliament to a court of registration and never summoned the States-General. He laid the foundation of the power of Louis XIV; the strength of the bureaucracy he established, and the reputation he had gained enabled the monarchy to come safely through the difficulties that arose after his death.

(2) Richelieu and constitutional development.

The nations of Europe were striving, with varying success, to secure constitutional liberty, and Richelieu's policy has been condemned as reactionary. He made all the institutions of France subservient to the monarchy; allowed no expression of popular feeling; he did little for the improvement of the condition of the people. But "the French people in the seventeenth century were incapable of constitutional development, they did not even desire it,"¹ and Richelieu's wars, which rendered great service to France by extending and securing her frontiers, left him little time for internal reform.

(3) Internal government.

Richelieu utterly failed to meet the urgent need for financial reform; the cost of levying the *Taille* was 25 per cent, of levying the *Gabelle* 40 per cent; Crown

¹ Sir Richard Lodge.

lands were recklessly pledged or sold ; the interest of the public debt increased tenfold under him, and yet he allowed one-quarter of the population to secure exemption from taxation. He failed to provide security of life and property for ordinary citizens ; he abolished the freedom of the Press ; he constantly interfered with the legitimate action of the judges, particularly in the case of political offenders ; he set a bad precedent by establishing special courts for the trial of his enemies, e.g. Marillac.

His policy ultimately led to the French Revolution, but its immediate result was to make France the leading country in Europe.

B. Foreign policy.

(1) General.

Richelieu wished "to restore to Gaul the limits which nature designed for her . . . to identify Gaul with France," and this object involved opposition to Spain, which, although beginning to decay, was still dangerous. The common interests of the Hapsburgs brought Richelieu into conflict with Austria. His foreign policy resulted not only in the extension of the power of France, but in the arrest of the Counter-Reformation and the freedom of Northern Europe from the domination of Southern Europe ; "the Peace of Westphalia was really of his making."

(2) Richelieu's diplomacy.

Richelieu was a master of diplomacy. He made a most skilful use of Sweden against Austria and prevented Poland and Denmark, which were unfriendly to Sweden, from making war against her. He checked the danger from the Austrian power in Italy by securing the co-operation of Savoy, Mantua and Parma. He emphasized the objections that could be raised to the election of Ferdinand III. He steadily opposed negotiations for peace with Austria and Spain

and made the most of the questions as to the independence of the United Provinces, the rights of the widows of the Duke of Savoy and of the Landgrave of Hesse, which might be used to hinder negotiations.

(3) Weakness of his military and naval policy.

But in his military and naval policy he showed weakness. He failed to make adequate use of the strong navy he had created. His military scheme "reveals no bold offensive, no concentration on a skilfully chosen objective";¹ he failed to take full advantage of the opportunities France possessed of acting on inner lines against the scattered possessions of Spain. He seemed afraid to give his generals a free hand. In Italy strenuous efforts led to inadequate results. In Spain France derived considerable advantage from the Portuguese and Catalonian rebellions, but these were due to Spanish misrule, not to French policy.

Richelieu's aggressive policy promoted the interests of France, but that policy was selfish; "it is the triumph of Machiavellianism on the large scale in international politics."² The Dutch, who had saved Europe from Philip II, were destined to save Europe from the France which Richelieu had founded.

C. Richelieu and France.

He rendered France great service by making her a great power and checking the dangerous power of the Hapsburgs. But the cost was enormous, and his internal policy resulted in the establishment of lawless absolutism. He loved France, but did little for the French people; "It is doubtful whether the French people were any happier at the end of Richelieu's administration than at its beginning, but, beyond question, France was a more powerful state."³

¹ *Cambridge Modern History.*

² Wakeman.

³ Dr. J. B. Perkins.

D. Personal.

Richelieu was a politician rather than a statesman ; “ of creative and beneficent statesmanship he had no share.” He was courageous, cunning, ruthless in crushing opposition, utterly lacking in the geniality of Henry IV ; bonfires were lighted as a proof of the joy with which his countrymen heard of his death.

He patronised learning and painters ; was “ coldly religious,” but observant of religious ceremonies and quite free from the grosser vices of the age. But he was deficient in humanity, and “ there was not enough of flesh and blood in him for a true hero.”¹

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MAZARIN

Giulio Mazarini, a native of Palermo, had entered the household of the Constable Colonna at Rome ; his bravery at the siege of Casale, where at the risk of his life, on October 26th, 1631, he averted a battle between the French and Spaniards after the Treaty of Cherasco² had been signed, attracted the notice of Richelieu, who took him into his service in 1639. Although only in deacon's orders he was made a Cardinal in 1641. He succeeded Richelieu, won the affection of Anne of Austria, whom he probably married after the death of Louis XIII ; the Queen's steady support enabled him to maintain his position in spite of the enmity of the nobles and people.

¹ Kitchin.

² Page 348.

I. Mazarin becomes Chief Minister, 1643.

Louis XIII, who had resented Queen Anne's opposition to Richelieu, had nominated a Council of State to advise her during the minority of Louis XIV. She appealed to the Parliament of Paris, which made her sole Regent, and she made Mazarin chief minister. The *Importants*, old nobility who hoped to regain their power, made an unsuccessful conspiracy, under Beaufort, son of the Duke of Vendôme, to overthrow Mazarin. Imprisonment of Beaufort, exile of Vendôme, Guise and the Duchess of Chevreuse. The support of Condé, the victor of Rocroy,¹ greatly strengthened the position of Mazarin.

II. The Fronde,² 1648-1652.

Mazarin was hated by all classes ; the nobles resented the rule of a low born Italian ; the people were oppressed by heavy taxation, which was increased by the corruption of officials ; the Parliamentarians in England had given an example of successful resistance to royal authority, and Masaniello's revolt against the Spaniards in Naples had gained immediate, though not lasting, success. In Paris discontent resulted in revolt.

A. The Old Fronde.

The Parliament was the central law court ; it dated from the time of St. Louis, had helped to settle the Government in 1610 and 1643 and, although not representing or even greatly sympathising with the people, now endeavoured to secure constitutional reforms.

The Parisians had been roused by the attempt of Emeri, Mazarin's unscrupulous minister of finance, to levy taxes on houses in the suburbs and to impose a duty on food brought into Paris. The official class were enraged at Mazarin's unwillingness to renew the *paulette*.³

¹ Page 411.

² So called from the *frondes* or slings used in their games by the street boys of Paris.

³ Page 337.

The Coadjutor Archbishop of Paris, Paul of Gondi,¹ jealous of Mazarin, had made himself head of "a whole mob of rag-tag and bobtail," and supported the Parliament, who gained the favour of Gaston d'Orleans, Beaufort, "the king of the markets," Longueville and Bouillon.

(1) The demands of the Parliament.

The Parliament demanded that all Intendants should be abolished ; that the *Taille*² should be reduced ; that it should control taxation and that any person arrested should be brought up for trial within twenty-four hours.

(2) The Peace of Ruel, 1649.

August, 1648. Mazarin, encouraged by Condé's victory at Lens, arrested Broussel, one of the leading members of the Parliament. This caused great riots in Paris, and, owing to the intervention of Gondi, Broussel was released.

September, 1648. The Queen and Mazarin fled to Ruel. Condé now declared in favour of the Parliament.

October, 1648. Mazarin returned to Paris and agreed to the demands of the Parliament.

April, 1649. The Parliament did not wish for war and resented the unpatriotic action of its noble allies, who opened negotiations with Spain. Mazarin wished to settle domestic questions that he might be free to oppose Spain. (On April 1st, 1649, the first period of the Fronde was closed by the Peace of Ruel.)

B. The New Fronde (*Les Petits Maîtres*), 1650.

The year that followed the Peace of Ruel was a time of anarchy ; the hatred of Mazarin found expression in *mazarinades* against him and "dame Anne" ; Condé's imperious temper alienated the Parliament, and Mazarin, by securing a cardinal's hat for Gondi, gained his

¹ Afterwards Cardinal de Retz.

² Page 337.

support. The arrogance of the *petits maîtres*, as the discontented nobles were called, alienated the supporters of the Old Fronde.

(1) The arrest of the nobles.

January 18th, 1650. Mazarin therefore felt strong enough to arrest and imprison in Vincennes, Condé, his brother Conti and his brother-in-law Longueville, and thus led to the rising of the nobles which formed the second stage in the Fronde.

(2) The rising, 1650.

Normandy, Burgundy and Guienne joined the movement for the release of the princes and the overthrow of Mazarin. But the Old Fronde supported Mazarin against the New, and although the Duchess of Longueville, who fled to Holland, won over Turenne and secured the help of the Archduke Leopold, the rising was easily suppressed.

October, 1650. The submission of Bordeaux completed the reduction of Guienne.

December, 1650. Turenne's invading army was routed at Rethel.

C. The combination of the Old and New Frondes.

Mazarin, forgetting that the suppression of the *petits maîtres* was largely due to the Old Fronde, now drove Gondi into opposition by failing to keep the promises he had made, and offended the Parliament. The Old and New Frondeurs, including Gondi, now united against the hated minister.

(1) Flight of Mazarin.

January, 1651. Mazarin, having ordered the release of the nobles imprisoned at Havre, whither they had been transferred, fled to Brühl. The Parliament sold his library.

(2) Condé.

February, 1651. The princes returned to Paris.

Condé's insolence broke up his party ; Gondi went over to the side of the Queen, who promised never to recall Mazarin ; Condé withdrew to Guienne, where he provoked another outbreak ; he then prepared to march on Paris, while Turenne undertook to invade Champagne and to attack Paris from the north-east.

(3) The King declared of age.

September 7th, 1651. Anne declared Louis XIV of age, and the rising thus became not a demonstration against the minister, but rebellion against the King. Mazarin joined the Court at Poitiers, and Turenne came over to the King's side.

(4) Turenne and Condé.

War broke out and lasted eight months, but Condé was weakened by the reluctance of many Frenchmen to fight against the King. The Parliament refused to admit him into Paris, partly because of the negotiations he had carried on with Spain.

March, 1652. Turenne routed Beaufort at Jargeau.

April, 1652. Condé defeated the royalists at Bléneau, but Turenne saved the defeated army from complete rout.

July, 1652. Condé advanced on Paris, was routed by Turenne in the Faubourg St. Antoine, but Made-moiselle de Montpensier¹ made the Parisians admit him into the city and forced the gunners of the Bastille to fire on the royal army. Turenne was compelled to withdraw to defend the frontier against the Spaniards, who had taken Gravelines.

(5) The King enters Paris.

August, 1652. Paris hated Mazarin, who, to facilitate peace, withdrew to Sedan.

October 21st, 1652. Louis XIV entered Paris. He exiled some and executed others of the Frondeurs, deprived the Parliament of all political power and

¹ La Grande Demoiselle, daughter of Gaston d'Orleans.

arrested Gondi. The Fronde was crushed in Paris. Mazarin returned in February, 1653, and the surrender of Bordeaux in the following July marks the end of the Fronde in the provinces.

Condé left France and took service with the King of Spain against Louis XIV.

D. General.

- (1) Although hatred of Mazarin was an important factor, the Old Fronde was a constitutional movement. If the demands of the Parliament had been put into effect they might have led to such constitutional progress as would have averted the French Revolution.
- (2) The nobles were purely selfish. Their sole object was to establish their own power, and to do this they tried to secure the help of Spain against their own country. The Fronde was the last revolt of the French nobles against the King.
- (3) The country was loyal to the King, though hostile to his minister; the failure of the Fronde established the absolute supremacy of the Crown.
- (4) Louis XIV's strong opposition to the extension of political privileges to his subjects was partly due to the impression made on him by the Fronde.
- (5) The Fronde saved Spain from almost certain defeat.

III. The War with Spain.

A. The effect of the Fronde.

Spain was not a party to the Peace of Westphalia, and in 1648 her position seemed desperate. The French held Roussillon and Cerdagne, were assisting the Catalonians who had revolted, and had gained a naval victory in 1646 which gave them the command of the Mediterranean. Masaniello had stirred up a revolt in Naples in 1647; Portugal had regained her independence.

The Fronde saved Spain, and at its conclusion, in **1653**, France was impoverished and weakened. The Spaniards had secured Gravelines, Dunkirk and Catalonia and gained the valuable aid of Condé, who entered the service of Philip IV in November, **1652**.

B. The war from 1653-1656.

1653. Condé invaded Northern France, but was compelled to retreat owing to the skilful strategy of Turenne.

1654. The French captured Stenai and compelled Condé to give up the siege of Arras.

1655. The French gained several towns in the Spanish Netherlands, but were badly beaten by Condé at Valenciennes in **1656**.

C. Alliance with England, 1657.

Proposals for an alliance between England and Spain had failed because Cromwell had demanded free trade with the West Indies and freedom of Englishmen trading in the West Indies from the Inquisition. Mazarin had in **1655**, at Cromwell's request, compelled the Duke of Savoy to stop persecuting the Vaudois, and concluded the commercial treaty of Westminster with England.

March, **1657.** Mazarin, realising the need of inflicting defeat on Spain, and alarmed by Condé's victory at Valenciennes, made the Treaty of Paris with Cromwell, who promised to supply 6000 troops on condition that he should receive Mardyke and Dunkirk and that the family of Charles I should be banished from France.

October, **1657.** Turenne captured Mardyke.

June 13th, **1658.** Largely owing to the co-operation of the Ironsides, Turenne routed the Spaniards at the Battle of the Dunes and captured Dunkirk and Gravelines.

D. The Peace of the Pyrenees, 1659.

Spain was further weakened by Mazarin's success in inducing the new Emperor Leopold I (1658-1705) to promise to discontinue the help Austria had been giving to Spain.

The Peace of the Pyrenees was concluded on November 7th, 1659.

(1) Terms.

- a.* France received Artois, Rousillon and Cerdagne and evacuated the fortresses she still held in Catalonia ; received some fortresses in Hainault (e.g. Landrecies), Flanders (e.g. Gravelines), Luxemburg (e.g. Thionville). France restored most of Savoy to the Duke, but kept Pinerolo.
- b.* Spain received back the county of Charolais, but resigned her claims on Alsace.
- c.* Lorraine was to be restored to Duke Charles IV : this was effected, after some negotiations, in 1661, when France secured the right of passage through the duchy and the fortifications of Nancy were demolished.
- d.* Condé was restored to all his rights, including the Governorship of Burgundy.

(2) The marriage of Louis XIV.

June, 1660. Louis XIV married Philip IV's daughter, Maria Theresa, who renounced her right to the crown of Spain on condition of receiving a dowry of 500,000 crowns. But the dowry was not paid, and this omission led to grave consequences in 1667.¹

(3) General.

- a.* The Peace of the Pyrenees closes the long period of enmity between France and Spain and was to be followed by a friendship which led to the close alliance of the Family Compact of 1761.

¹ Page 521.

- b. It gave France her natural boundaries of the Pyrenees, Alps and Vosges, and her command of the passes facilitated aggressive movements against the Rhine, Italy and Spain.
- c. But no natural boundaries were established in the North, although the acquisition of Artois strengthened this frontier.

The Peace marks the ruin of the power of Spain and the establishment of the greatness of France. The attempt of Louis XIV to extend the advantages secured by the Peace by conquering the Netherlands and the Rhine Valley had most important effects on the history of Europe.

IV. Character and Importance of Mazarin.

A. Foreign policy.

Mazarin continued the foreign policy of Henry IV and Richelieu, and the Peace of Westphalia and the Peace of the Pyrenees, following the alliance with Cromwell and the League of the Rhine, were a tribute to his exceptionally skilful diplomacy. Unlike Richelieu, he was content to "hug the Rhine . . . rather than to penetrate into the vitals of the Empire and destroy the Hapsburgs,"¹ but, generally, his great diplomatic skill enabled him to reap where Richelieu had sown, and his triumphs represent the completion of Richelieu's work.

B. Domestic policy.

Although he put down the nobles, his domestic policy, partly owing to the continual pressure of foreign war, was weak. His financial administration, for which Fouquet was largely responsible, was "corrupt to the core."² "The country," said a contemporary in 1648, "has been ruined for ten years." Unlike Richelieu, he did nothing to promote learning or art.)

¹ Stubbs.

² Wakeman.

C. General.

He relied not on force, as Richelieu had done, but on diplomacy and tact. His policy was elastic ; he was an adroit opportunist and, although he tended to follow the line of least resistance, achieved brilliant success in foreign affairs. But the position of a chief minister undertaking the task of universal government made complete success impossible, and the early success of Louis XIV was partly due to the fact that, following Mazarin's advice, he acted as his own chief minister.

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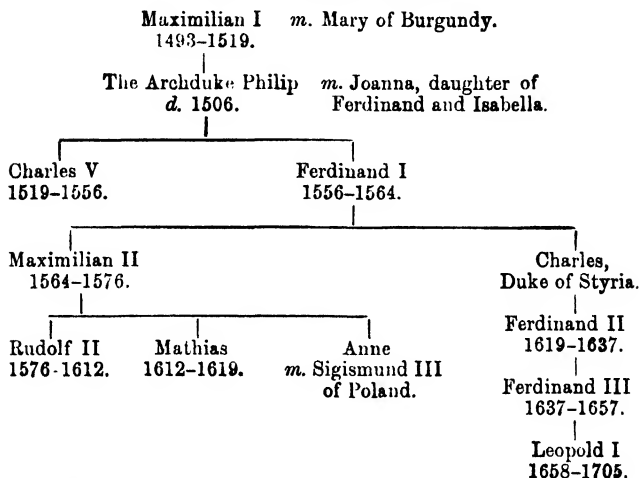
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SECTION XII

GERMANY FROM 1556 TO 1618

FERDINAND I AND MAXIMILIAN II, 1556-1576

THE HAPSBURGS



I. General.

A. The religious difficulties.

The Religious Peace of Augsburg, 1555,¹ had established the principle of equality between Catholics and Protestants in Germany, but contained the seeds of future difficulties. The Calvinists were not recognised; no allowance was made for variations of the Confession of Augsburg, 1530, which had arisen; the Protestant princes considered that the *cujus regio* principle gave them the right of establishing territorial churches, the Catholics that it gave them the right of suppressing heresy in their dominions. It was doubtful if states which became Protestant after the Treaty of Passau, 1552, could secularise Catholic foundations.

¹ Page 212.

B. Political problems.

Under Ferdinand I and, probably, Maximilian II the unity of the Empire found some measure of support, especially from Augustus of Saxony. But the weakness of the Empire was increased by the growth of the territorial power of the princes, involving the development of local courts and estates ; by the unwieldy size of the Diet, which the princes rarely attended ; by the need of defending Austria and Hungary against the Turks ; by the " Capitulations " extorted from the Emperor as a condition of election.

C. Political leagues.

Religious differences led to the formation within Germany of territorial leagues identified with religious parties, and also to alliances with foreigners of the same religious views.

Thus the differences which led to the Thirty Years' War became apparent long before that war broke out. The moderation of the deservedly popular Ferdinand I and the unwillingness of Maximilian II to take a strong line averted for a time the inevitable conflict.

II. The Protestants.**A. The Emperor's policy.****(1) Ferdinand I.**

Under Ferdinand Protestantism spread rapidly. In 1558 the Venetian ambassador asserted that nine-tenths of the Germans were Protestants. In Northern Germany, Duke William of Cleves was the only Catholic lay prince ; of the lay Electors only one, the Emperor, who was King of Bohemia, was Catholic ; many of the Imperial towns were Protestant, and there was a considerable extension of Protestantism over Hungary, Bohemia and Austria.

(2) Maximilian II.

Maximilian in his early years showed such sympathy

towards Protestantism that many expected him to become a Protestant ; he, unlike Ferdinand I, showed distinct antipathy to Spain. But after his reconciliation in **1570** with Philip II, who married his daughter Anne, he became less friendly with the German Protestants and favoured the Counter-Reformation.

B. Secularisation.

The Ecclesiastical Reservation, a clause of the Peace of Augsburg, had provided that any abbot or bishop must lose his appointment on becoming a Lutheran. The Protestants maintained that this did not apply to cases in which a Chapter had become Protestant and elected a Protestant bishop or abbot. The Protestants further maintained that the clause which prohibited the extension of the authority of the Catholic Church over lands secularised before **1552** did not prevent the Protestants from retaining lands secularised after that date.

The Protestant princes used their opportunity to establish their influence over bishoprics, often by installing their sons as bishops. Augustus of Saxony became master of the sees of Meissen, Merseburg and Nuremberg ; Sigismund of Brandenburg, of Magdeburg and Halberstadt.

C. Lutherans and Calvinists.

(1) Augustus of Saxony.

Augustus of Saxony was a rigid Lutheran. He opposed Catholicism and Calvinism, resisted any development of Lutheran doctrine, did not favour alliances with foreign Protestants.

1559 and 1576. Augustus defeated the Elector Palatine's attempt to make grants for military service against the Turks depend upon the redress of religious grievances.

1561. Failure of the Conference at Naumberg to reconcile Lutherans and Calvinists.

1575. At the election of Rudolf as King of the Romans the Protestants failed to secure favourable terms from him owing to dissensions between Saxony and the Palatinate.

(2) Frederick III of the Palatinate.

Frederick III, Elector Palatine, was a strong Calvinist, and in **1564** accepted the Heidelberg Catechism as the statement of religious belief for his electorate. He showed active sympathy with foreign Protestants.

1562. Frederick gave hospitality to refugees from the Netherlands and conducted negotiations with Condé.

1568. Frederick lent money to William of Orange.

1569. Frederick's proposals for a Protestant Union between the German Protestants, England and Scandinavia failed owing to the opposition of Brandenburg.

1576. John Casimir, Frederick's son, invaded France to help Henry of Navarre in the Fifth Civil War.¹

1578. John Casimir, Frederick's son, supported the extreme Calvinists in Ghent.²

III. The Catholics.

The Emperors Ferdinand I and, after **1570**, Maximilian II supported the Counter-Reformation. In the early part of Ferdinand's reign the Catholics were powerful on the Rhine, where they had the support of the Duke of Cleves, the Archbishops of Cologne, Mainz and Trèves, and the Imperial cities of Aachen and Cologne.

In the South, Albert V of Bavaria (**1550-1579**) was the mainstay of Catholicism and claimed within four years to have brought 10,000 of his Protestant subjects into the Catholic faith.

The Jesuits gained much success in Germany. Ferdinand I founded a Jesuit college in Vienna in **1558**; the great Jesuit Canisius became the Emperor's chief

¹ Page 257.

² Page 293.

adviser ; the Order established itself in Munich and Würzburg and, about 1576, made Fulda a great centre of Catholicism.

The Protestants, and particularly preachers, were exiled from Catholic states ; their property was given to Catholics. There was no bloodshed ; but this method of repression proved successful, particularly in Bavaria.

IV. General.

By the death of Maximilian II the Protestants had lost ground. The Counter-Reformation had met with a large measure of success. The Protestants were divided and their power was weakened by the differences between the Calvinists, led by the Elector Palatine, and the strict Lutherans, led by the Elector of Saxony. The former had commenced the policy of foreign alliances which in the Thirty Years' War was to strengthen the Protestants in their contest with the Catholic Emperor. But as yet no war had arisen although both parties had broken the Religious Peace of Augsburg—the Protestants by their policy of secularisation, the Catholics by their repression of Protestantism, contrary to the promise of toleration.

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RUDOLF II AND MATHIAS, 1576-1619

Under Rudolf II, 1576-1612, whose melancholia, ending in insanity, greatly weakened the effective force of the Empire, and Mathias, 1612-1619, whose activities were limited by the concessions he had made to the Protestants of Bohemia and Hungary

in order to secure the throne, Germany drifted on towards war. The election of the energetic Ferdinand of Styria in **1617** as heir to the throne of Bohemia led to the outbreak.

I. The Counter-Reformation.

Rudolf II had been brought up in Spain and favoured the Counter-Reformation, which, largely owing to the efforts of the Jesuits, made considerable progress in his hereditary dominions; but the need of united efforts against the Turks, who in **1596** utterly routed the Imperial army at Keresztes, prevented him from endeavouring to weaken the power of the Protestant princes.

A. Poland.

From **1587**, when he was elected King of Poland in preference to the Archduke Maximilian, Sigismund III reversed the policy of his tolerant predecessor, Stephen Báthory, and won Poland back to Catholicism.

B. Styria.

1596. Rudolf's cousin, Ferdinand of Styria, came of age. He was a sincere Catholic and had pledged himself to restore Catholicism wherever possible. He expelled Protestant ministers, destroyed Protestant churches and made Catholicism supreme in Styria.

C. Austria.

1595-1603. Encouraged by Ferdinand's success Rudolf, in defiance of the privileges of the nobles and the preference of the towns, re-established the predominance of the Catholic Church in Austria, in which the concession to the laity of the Cup in the Sacrament, which Pius IV had granted, was withdrawn by Clement VIII.

D. Bohemia.

1602. Rudolf suppressed the meetings of the Moravian Brethren; but the adoption, in **1605**, for Bohemia of the decrees of the Council of Trent roused strong opposi-

tion among the Protestants, who formed the great majority of the population.

E. Bavaria.

Duke William V (1579-1597) made a concordat with Gregory XIII in 1583; his son Maximilian (1597-1651) became one of the strongest champions of Catholicism in Germany. Ingolstadt and Würzburg became great Jesuit centres, and the Counter-Reformation was firmly established in Bavaria.

II. The Protestants.

A. Some problems on the Rhine.

The position of the Protestants on the Lower Rhine was affected by several developments.

(1) The effect of the Revolt of the Netherlands.

The Revolt of the Netherlands led to occasional raids of Spanish and Dutch soldiers into German territory; there seemed a possibility that, after peace was made between Spain and Holland in 1609, the Spanish troops in Flanders might co-operate with the Imperial army against the Palatinate; Calvinistic refugees had flocked to Aachen, Cologne and Emden.

a. Aachen.

1580. The Protestants demanded the free exercise of their religion in Aachen and, when the Catholic town council refused the demand, seized the town in 1581. Ultimately the Diet abolished Protestant worship in Aachen, although the Protestants formed a majority of the population.

b. Cologne.

1583. Gebhard, Archbishop of Cologne, had married a wife, declared himself a Protestant and tried to bring about a Protestant reformation. His attempt involved the question of

Ecclesiastical Reservation, and he was supported by John Casimir, although not by Saxony or Brandenburg. He was driven out of the Archbishopric of Cologne by Ferdinand of Bavaria in 1584 and took refuge with William of Orange at Delft.

c. Strasburg.

1592-1604. A dispute as to the possession of the see of Strasburg between John George of Brandenburg, a Protestant, and Cardinal Charles of Lorraine ended in favour of the Cardinal.

B. Calvinists and Lutherans.

The Calvinistic Palatinate and Lutheran Saxony were rivals for the leadership of the German Protestants ; the former tended to oppose, and the latter to support, the Emperor ; partly owing to this they took opposite views as to the desirability of strengthening German Protestants by foreign alliances ; theological differences, especially on the question of the Eucharist, separated them, and the Universities of Heidelberg and Tübingen led the respective theological schools.

(1) The *Formula Concordiæ*.

The difference between the Calvinists and Lutherans was accentuated by the adoption by Augustus of Saxony, in 1580, of the *Formula Concordiæ*, a rigid statement of Lutheran doctrine which was accepted by Saxony and Brandenburg, but not the Palatinate.

(2) Christian I of Saxony.

February 16th, 1586. Death of Augustus of Saxony, the steady opponent of Calvinism. His successor, Christian I, relaxed the application of the *Formula*, became friendly with John Casimir, but did not favour alliances with foreign Protestants.

(3) John Casimir.

Lewis, Elector Palatine from 1576-1583, was a

Lutheran, but on his death Calvinism was restored in the Palatinate by John Casimir, who acted as Regent for his young nephew, Frederick IV.

January, **1592**. Death of John Casimir.

(4) Brandenburg.

1608. John Sigismund introduced Calvinism into Brandenburg, which now sided with the Palatinate.

Thus Calvinism had become stronger. Largely owing to the influence of the impetuous Christian of Anhalt, Calvinism became militant, and, to a considerable extent, militant Calvinism was responsible for the outbreak of the Thirty Years' War.

III. The Protestant Union, 1608, and Catholic League, 1609.

Germany was now tending to divide into two parties, Catholics and Protestants ; Saxony, though Protestant, tended to act with the Catholics owing to opposition to foreign alliances and sympathy with Imperial authority.

A. Donauwörth, 1607.

The attempt made by Rudolf from **1602** to crush Protestantism in Bohemia and Hungary, the obvious desire of the Catholics to resume secularised lands, made the Protestants suspicious.

1607. The Ban of the Empire was pronounced against Donauwörth, where the Protestant majority attempted to stop Catholic processions. Maximilian of Bavaria executed the ban, gave the city churches to Catholics and abolished Protestantism.

B. The Protestant or Evangelical Union.

[Attempts to form a Protestant League had been made at Heilbronn in **1594** and Frankfort in **1598**, and the latter had concluded an offensive and defensive alliance with Henry IV at Heidelberg in **1603**.]

1608. Owing to Maximilian's aggression the Protestant states of the Rhine formed the Protestant Union under the leadership of the Elector Palatine, including Baden, Neuburg, Würtemberg and the cities of Strasburg, Nüremberg and Ulm. Christian of Anhalt was appointed General of the Union.

C. The Catholic or Holy League.

The formation of the Protestant Union and resentment at concessions made to Protestants by Mathias in Hungary and Austria led in **1609** to the formation of the Catholic League by Maximilian of Bavaria and some Catholic bishops of Southern Germany ; the Archbishops of Cologne, Mainz and Trèves, Frederick of Styria and Pope Paul V soon joined, and the King of Spain promised military assistance, if necessary.

D. The Jülich-Cleves Dispute.¹

The alliance of the Protestant Union with Henry IV, England, Holland, Venice and Savoy seemed dangerous to the Empire and Roman Catholicism. The danger was averted by the murder of Henry IV.²

1610. The allied forces, under Christian of Anhalt, drove the Archduke Leopold out of Jülich.

1614. The Treaty of Xanten. The government of the duchies was shared between the two "Possessing" princes, of whom John Sigismund of Brandenburg had become a Calvinist and Wolfgang William of Neuburg a Catholic.

IV. Bohemia.

Hussite traditions continued in Bohemia, and probably nine-tenths of the population were Protestants. Rudolf's repressive measures in **1602** had failed to make the country Catholic.

¹ Page 340.

² Page 342.

A. *The Letter of Majesty, 1609.*

July, 1609. Rudolf had been compelled to surrender most of his dominions to his brother Mathias in 1606 ; in order to keep Bohemia he was compelled to issue the *Letter of Majesty*, which gave freedom of conscience and liberty of worship on all Crown (including ecclesiastical) lands and gave the right of building schools and churches to nobles, knights and royal towns.

B. Mathias, King of Bohemia, 1611.

February, 1611. An Imperial army occupied part of Prague. The Protestant Estates appeal to Mathias for help against Rudolf ; he entered Prague and, after promising to keep the terms of the *Letter of Majesty*, was crowned King of Bohemia in May, 1611.

1612. Death of Rudolf. Mathias elected Emperor.

[1615. Mathias made a treaty with the Turks. Bethlen Gabor became Prince of Transylvania under Turkish suzerainty.]

C. Ferdinand of Styria, King of Bohemia.

(1) The election of Ferdinand, 1617.

Mathias and his brothers were childless. To ensure the Hapsburg succession Mathias tried to make Ferdinand of Styria, a conspicuous supporter of the Catholic cause, heir to all the Hapsburg dominions. 1617. At the bidding of Mathias the Estates of Bohemia accepted Ferdinand as their hereditary King. He promised to observe the *Letter of Majesty*.

(2) Protestant discontent.

The Protestant majority were annoyed to find they had practically waived the right of electing their King, and were infuriated by Ferdinand's disregard of the *Letter of Majesty*. Peasants on the royal domain were expelled for refusing to attend Catholic worship ; the foundation charters of Utraquist ¹ churches were examined and cancelled where possible ; the Catholic

¹ *Notes on European History, Part I, page 305.*

Town Council of Prague claimed the right of appointing parish priests and refused to continue certain payments to Protestant preachers; the Protestants of Brunau were forbidden to build a church; the Abbot of Klostergrab pulled down a Protestant church.

"It was the persecution by Ferdinand . . . that kindled the flames of the Thirty Years' War."¹

(3) The "Defenestration" of Prague, 1618.

The Protestant "Defensores," led by Thurn, called an Assembly of Protestant representatives at Prague in March, 1618. They sent a protest to Ferdinand against recent breaches of the *Letter of Majesty*, but he declared the Assembly rebellious and justified his recent actions.

May 23rd, 1618. Thurn and his supporters entered the palace and threw the Regents Martinitz and Slawata out of the window into a ditch some sixty feet below. Both escaped with their lives. A provisional Protestant Government was appointed, and Frederick V, Elector Palatine, promised the help of the Protestant Union.

The "Defenestration" marks the beginning of the Thirty Years' War.

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¹ Stubbs.

SECTION XIII

THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR

BOHEMIA AND THE PALATINATE, 1618–1624

I. The Election of Frederick, 1619.

A. The Bohemian revolt.

The rebels in Bohemia proved utterly incompetent ; Thurn found the greatest difficulty in raising troops and money ; the army of Bucquoi, who held Budweis for the Emperor, was a grave danger.

The arrival of Mansfeld, sent by Duke Charles Emmanuel of Savoy, with 2000 soldiers, the support of Silesia and Austria, and the sympathy of Bethlen Gabor, Prince of Transylvania, greatly strengthened the Bohemians. Mansfeld took Pilsen on November 21st, **1618**, and soon the Emperor had lost all Bohemia except Budweis.

June, **1619**. Vienna was threatened by Thurn. In spite of imminent danger, Ferdinand of Styria refused to surrender on condition of recognising the Bohemian revolt and establishing a Protestant Government in Hungary. Vienna and Ferdinand were saved by the unexpected arrival of a small force of five hundred cavalry.

B. Ferdinand of Styria elected Emperor, 1619.

March 20th, **1619**. Death of Mathias.

August 28th, **1619**. Ferdinand of Styria elected Emperor, largely owing to differences between Saxony and the Palatinate and Brandenburg. Ferdinand's position appeared desperate ; Bohemia seemed lost ; Silesia, Lusatia, Moravia and Austria had revolted ; Bethlen Gabor was threatening Hungary ; he had few

troops except Bucquoi's army, although a Spanish force was coming from the Netherlands.

But he was steadfast in his support of the cause of Catholicism and Imperialism and said he "was ready to perish in the struggle, should that be the will of God." Thurn's failure at Vienna and Bucquoi's defeat of Mansfeld at Zablat gave him some relief, and Bethlen Gabor evacuated Hungary.

C. Frederick elected King of Bohemia.

(1) The election

August, 1619 The Bohemians deposed Ferdinand and elected Frederick V, Elector Palatine, as King. He was the leader of the German Calvinists and had persuaded the Union to promise to support the Bohemians, it was hoped that he would be helped by James I of England, whose daughter Elizabeth he had married in 1613.

He was urged not to accept the throne by his mother, Maximilian of Bavaria, his advisers at Heidelberg, and John George of Saxony, who feared that the union of the Palatinate and Bohemia would prove dangerous to Saxony and objected to the influence Frederick would secure in the Electoral College if he exercised the two votes of these electorates. John Sigismund of Brandenburg urged him to accept, and the strong pressure of Christian of Anhalt (not, as is often said, the ambition of his wife) made him accept the offer.

November 4th, 1619 Frederick crowned at Prague.

(2) The probable effects

Frederick's acceptance involved the dispossession of a Catholic Elector, Ferdinand, and therefore offended Maximilian of Bavaria and the Catholic party; it appeared greatly to strengthen Calvinism in Germany, and therefore aroused the resentment both of the Lutherans and of the supporters of the

Counter-Reformation ; it was certain to cause the intervention of Spain, with the strong support of the Pope, on behalf of Ferdinand and, possibly, the intervention of James I on behalf of Frederick. Frederick's action turned what had been a local struggle limited to the Hapsburgs' lands into a German and, probably, an international contest.

(3) Frederick's position.

Frederick soon found his position weaker than he expected. James I, hoping to arrange a marriage between Charles (I), Prince of Wales and a Spanish Infanta, repudiated a step of which Spain disapproved; the Protestant Union, though ready to defend the Palatinate, if necessary, refused to support Frederick in Bohemia; Saxony, Hesse, Denmark and the Lutherans would give him no help; Gustavus Adolphus recognised him as King of Bohemia, but was too busy fighting Poland to intervene in Bohemia; the Dutch Calvinists sent him only a little money

II. The Bohemian War, 1620.

A. Ferdinand's position improves.

Ferdinand received financial aid from Pope Paul V, Tuscany and Genoa; Maximilian of Bavaria, a strong supporter of Catholicism, promised the help of his powerful army under Tilly, provided he received Upper Austria as security for his expenses and the succession to the Palatine Electorate; Philip III promised to send 24,000 Spanish troops, under Spinola, from the Netherlands to attack the Palatinate, and the union of the Austrian and Spanish Hapsburgs proved fatal to Frederick.

March, 1620. The Northern Protestant states were induced to abstain from interference by the promise made by the League at Mühlhausen not to recover lands secularised by the Northern princes as long as they remained loyal to the Emperor; in July, 1620, the

League and Union made an agreement by which the former undertook not to attack the Palatinate, the latter not to interfere in Bohemia.

B. The Battle of The White Mountain.

January, 1620. Bethlen Gabor, who had helped Frederick by invading Austria and threatening Vienna, made a truce with Ferdinand.

June, 1620. Upper Austria was invaded by Maximilian, empowered by the Emperor to reduce Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia. Maximilian then united with Bucquoi, invaded Bohemia and advanced on Prague.

November 8th, 1620. Frederick's army, under Christian of Anhalt, was utterly routed in one hour at The White Mountain, near Prague, by Maximilian and Tilly. Although Pilsen still held out under Mansfeld, and Bethlen Gabor was again invading Hungary, Frederick, "the Winter King," fled to The Hague.

C. The suppression of Protestantism in Bohemia.

The Battle of The White Mountain restored Ferdinand's authority in Bohemia and he took stern vengeance on the country. Forty-seven of his leading opponents were arrested; twenty-seven were executed. The lands of the rebel nobles were confiscated, and by the end of 1623 the Emperor possessed half of the landed property in Bohemia; much of this was granted to foreign Catholics, and thus a new race of landholders was created whose interests required the maintenance of Catholicism and the Emperor's authority in Bohemia. Protestant worship was forbidden except in German churches; Protestant clergymen were expelled from Bohemia, and more than 30,000 Protestant families were driven into exile. The University of Prague became a Jesuit foundation, and Jesuit schools were established in many places. Ferdinand himself tore up the *Letter of Majesty*, and in 1627 the hereditary succes-

sion of the Hapsburgs to the throne of Bohemia was established.

Bohemia became a Catholic country. Owing to the influence of John George, Elector of Saxony, who had reduced them, Lusatia and Silesia retained a considerable measure of political and religious freedom.

[December 31st, 1621. Bethlen Gabor made the Treaty of Nikolsburg with Ferdinand.]

III. The War in the Palatinate.

A. Spinola.

September, 1620. Spinola invaded the Lower Palatinate with 24,000 Spanish soldiers; the Union offered no effective resistance and he made himself master of the open country. Thus a Protestant electorate had been overrun by Catholics and was held by Spanish troops.

A volunteer force of Englishmen, under Sir Horace Vere, helped to garrison Heidelberg and other towns.

B. Tilly.

By the middle of 1621 Mansfeld, driven out of Bohemia, had collected an army in the Palatinate, partly owing to Dutch subsidies, and effected a junction with Vere. The Margrave of Baden-Durlach and Christian of Brunswick, Protestant Bishop of Halberstadt, who feared the loss of their secularised lands, were the only German princes ready to defend the Palatinate. The dissolution of the Protestant Union in 1621 lowered the prestige of the cause it represented, but otherwise did little damage to Protestantism, as the Union had proved very inefficient.

October, 1621. Tilly drove Mansfeld out of the Upper Palatinate into Alsace.

May 6th, 1622. Tilly routed Baden at Wimpfen.

June 20th, 1622. Tilly routed Christian of Brunswick at Höchst.

September 16th, 1622. Tilly captured Heidelberg.

November 8th, 1622. Tilly captured Mannheim. Mansfeld and Christian went to help the Dutch, who, in April, 1621, on the expiration of the truce of 1609, had renewed the war with Spain.

C. Maximilian.

February 13th, 1623. Ferdinand, with the consent of the Electors, made Maximilian of Bavaria Elector Palatine instead of Frederick, and gave him the Upper Palatinate as further security for his expenses.

August, 1623. Tilly defeated Christian of Brunswick at Stadtlohn.

It appeared as if the war in Germany had ended in the triumph of the Hapsburg and Catholic cause.

References :

The Ascendancy of France (Wakeman), Rivingtons, chap. iv.
Cambridge Modern History, Vol. IV, chap. iii.

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THE DANISH AND LOWER SAXON WAR, 1625-1629

The union of Spain and Austria greatly strengthened the Hapsburgs. The fear of Hapsburg ascendancy, which might lead to an attempt to reconquer the United Provinces and would assist the Catholic cause, not only roused the opposition of German Protestant princes, but led to the intervention of foreign nations. The war soon became European and not merely German.

I. The Treaties of 1625.

A. Growing opposition to Ferdinand II.

Opposition to Ferdinand was growing.

(1) France.

France, jealous of the Hapsburgs though friendly to the Catholic League, viewed with alarm the Spanish occupation of the Palatinate.

(2) England.

James I resented the expulsion of Frederick from the Palatinate, was now unfriendly towards Spain and concluded a treaty with France, 1624.¹

(3) Denmark.

Christian IV of Denmark was also Duke of Holstein, and therefore a member of the Lower Saxon Circle; Christian of Brunswick had transferred to him the see of Halberstadt; he had secured Verden and the succession to Bremen for his son and feared that the Emperor, if successful, would deprive his family of these acquisitions; he, and Gustavus Adolphus, viewed with alarm the possibility of the extension in North Germany of the Imperial power.

(4) The Lower Saxon Circle.

The princes of the Lower Saxon Circle feared that the further success of Ferdinand would compel them to restore their secularised territories and resented the action of the Emperor in depriving Frederick of the Palatinate.

B. The Treaties of 1625.

In 1624 James I had allowed Mansfeld to levy troops in England. But Louis XIII refused him a passage through France to the Palatinate, so he went to help Holland against Spinola, who was besieging Breda.

May, 1625. Charles I agreed to pay Christian IV a subsidy of £30,000 a month.

December, 1625. By the Treaty of The Hague, Holland and England agreed to subsidise Christian IV.

Thus the scope of the war was widened by the "intervention of foreigners who had distinct interests in Germany."²

¹ Page 345.

² Wakeman.

C. Christian IV Director of the Lower Saxon Circle.

Gustavus Adolphus favoured the formation of a great Protestant League against Ferdinand, but, owing to the influence of James I, Christian IV became leader of the Protestants. Gustavus took no active part in the ensuing war, but his operations in Poland helped the Protestant cause by preventing the Poles from making a Catholic diversion in the north of Germany.

January, 1625. Christian IV was appointed Director of the Lower Saxon Circle. He maintained that his objects were to protect the Circle, which Tilly was soon to invade, and to restore the Palatinate to Frederick.

II. Wallenstein.

Hitherto the army of the Catholic League, commanded by Tilly and under the authority of Maximilian of Bavaria, had been the main force on Ferdinand's side. But the League had been constituted to defend Catholicism, not to support Ferdinand's Imperial schemes, and some of the Catholic as well as the Protestant princes objected to the transference of the Palatinate from Frederick to Maximilian. Tilly's army now seemed inadequate, and Ferdinand secured the help of Wallenstein.

Wallenstein was a Bohemian Catholic, of great wealth and tolerant views. Ferdinand appointed him, in April, 1625, Commander-in-Chief of the Imperial armies, and he undertook to raise at his own expense 20,000 troops responsible to himself, to be supported by fixed contributions from towns which wished to avoid providing quarters, and including both Protestants and Catholics. Wallenstein considered that the Imperial authority must be supported as the only bond which could unite Germany, but his ambition was later to make him appear dangerous to the supremacy the Emperor claimed.)

III. The War.

The Protestants were hampered by the quarrels between Charles I and his Parliament, which stopped the

payment of the English subsidies to Christian IV ; by the unwillingness of George William of Brandenburg, brother-in-law of Gustavus Adolphus, to lend active help ; by the reluctance of some of the princes of the Saxon Circle, and especially John George of Saxony, to fight against the Emperor ; France was too busy with the Huguenot revolt to intervene.

A. 1625.

July, 28th **1625**. Tilly crossed the Weser and occupied Lower Saxony.

October, **1625**. Wallenstein entered Lower Saxony. He occupied the bishopric of Halberstadt and the archbishopric of Magdeburg, and, in December, fortified the bridge over the Elbe at Dessau.

B. 1626.

Christian IV proposed to attack Tilly on the Weser while Mansfeld attacked Wallenstein on the Elbe. If Wallenstein was driven back into Bohemia, it was hoped that Mansfeld might co-operate with the restless Bethlen Gabor and attack Vienna.

(1) Mansfeld.

April 25th, **1626**. Mansfeld was defeated by Wallenstein at the bridge of Dessau. He then marched through Silesia and joined Bethlen Gabor. But the latter, finding Wallenstein too strong, made a truce and Mansfeld was compelled to leave Hungary.

November 30th. Death, in Bosnia, of Mansfeld, who had gone to secure the aid of Venice.

December. Bethlen Gabor made the Peace of Pressburg with the Emperor.

(2) Christian IV.

August 26th, **1626**. Tilly, reinforced by 8000 men from Wallenstein's army, utterly routed Christian IV at Lutter.

C. 1627.

Christian IV's position in **1627** was most difficult. He got very little help from England and less from France, where Richelieu was beginning to think of combining with Maximilian of Bavaria and the League against the Hapsburgs. The States-General of Holland stopped their subsidies. Bethlen Gabor was unreliable. Hamburg and Lübeck remained neutral, and the Danish Parliament urged the King to conclude peace.

1627. Wallenstein, now Duke of Friedland, conquered Silesia. Tilly completed the subjugation of Brunswick and in August joined Wallenstein in invading Holstein. Wallenstein, whose lieutenant Arnim seized Mecklenburg, then invaded Jutland; Christian IV fled to the islands, and by the end of October Wallenstein was in possession of all the mainland of Denmark.

"Before the close of **1627** the reduction of the Lower Saxon Circle had been completed."

[September, **1627**. The Emperor made a treaty with the Turks and thus rendered Bethlen Gabor powerless.]

D. The attack on the Baltic Coasts, 1627-1628.**(1) Reasons for the attack.**

Ferdinand II now aimed at establishing his authority on the Baltic. He may have wished to do this, not only to extend the power of the Empire, but also to restore the Catholic King Sigismund of Poland to the throne of Sweden; or to use the Hanse towns to injure the commerce of England and Holland in the interests of Spain; or to use resources of the Hanse towns to support Spain, who was at war with Holland.

(2) Wallenstein's initial success.

Wallenstein was appointed Admiral of the Baltic, and in February, **1628**, received the title of Duke of Mecklenburg with the territory of which the former

Duke was deprived. Wallenstein took Wismar and Rostock and secured the coast line of Pomerania.

(3) The Siege of Stralsund.

Stralsund gave easy access into Germany, and therefore Wallenstein wished the citizens to receive an Imperial garrison. The townspeople refused to do this or to pay a contribution in lieu of quarters.

May 16th to July 24th, **1628**. Stralsund, strongly protected by water and marshes and securing from time to time, owing to its access to the sea, reinforcements of Christian IV's Scotch troops and Swedes, successfully resisted Wallenstein's siege mainly because of the bravery of the citizens, who refused to allow the Town Council to surrender.

January, **1629**. Tilly was compelled to raise the siege of Glückstadt.

E. The Peace of Lübeck, **1629**.

The failure of the Imperialists at Stralsund and Glückstadt, Wallenstein's growing fear of the designs of Gustavus Adolphus and the pressure of the Danish Parliament on Christian IV led to the Peace of Lübeck made between the Danes and the Emperor on May 22nd, **1629**. Wallenstein, who practically managed the negotiations, resisted the wish of the Catholics that all ecclesiastical property secularised since the Treaty of Passau should be restored. Christian IV received back all his hereditary dominions, paid no indemnity, gave up his claim to ecclesiastical lands in Germany.

F. General.

The success of the Catholics up to **1629** was due partly to the violence of the Calvinists under Mansfeld and Christian of Brunswick, and the belief of John George of Saxony that the Imperial power alone could give firm government to Germany. But conditions were changing.

The League had little sympathy with Wallenstein's Imperial policy and resented the forced contributions

he levied for his soldiers from Catholic towns. The Catholic princes, moved by the desolation wrought by the war, had in **1627** twice urged that peace should be made. Wallenstein, who favoured toleration in religious matters, had refused to make the restitution of secularised clergy lands a condition of the Peace of Lübeck.

The Emperor's arms had proved successful, but differences between the League and Wallenstein seemed likely to cause trouble in the near future.

References :

The Ascendancy of France (Wakeman), Rivingtons, chap. iv.
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Lectures on European History (Stubbs), Section III, Lecture IV.
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GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS

I. The Edict of Restitution, 1629.

A. The Edict.

The Protestant princes had systematically disregarded the Ecclesiastical Reservation¹ of the Peace of Augsburg and had used ecclesiastical endowments to enrich their own families ; in Lower Saxony alone the archbishoprics of Bremen and Magdeburg and twelve bishoprics had been thus alienated. The Catholics wished to use their victory to secure the restitution of land thus diverted.

March 29th, **1629**. The Emperor issued the Edict of Restitution and ordered the restitution of all Church property secularised since the Peace of Augsburg, **1555**.

B. Effect of the Edict.

(1) Property restored.

Subsequent events seem to have prevented the restitution of Magdeburg and Bremen and the full execution of the Edict, but by **1631** five bishoprics

¹ Page 213.

at least a hundred convents and many churches had been restored, and forty-five important towns had been compelled to restore all or some of the ecclesiastical property they had seized.

(2) Discontent.

The Protestants strongly resented the Edict and claimed that possession for fifty years, and in some cases eighty, constituted a valid title. John George of Saxony, hitherto the supporter of the Emperor, protested against the Edict which made him view with more favour the possibility of a union of all Protestants against the Emperor.

The Catholic princes resented the ruthless way in which the Edict had been enforced in Swabia and Franconia; in many cases the Jesuits, and not the former possessors, secured restored property; the jealousy between the League, headed by Maximilian, and the Emperor and Wallenstein, on whose army the enforcement of the Edict partly depended, was intensified.

Wallenstein, the strong supporter of Imperial power, advocated toleration in religion and had shown equal favour to Protestants and Catholics in his army. He objected to the Edict because it increased disunion in Germany, but out of loyalty to the Emperor had used his powerful army to enforce the Edict.

II. The Dismissal of Wallenstein.

July–September, 1630. At the Diet of Ratisbon a sharp difference appeared between the League and the Emperor. This was increased by the skilful diplomacy of Father Joseph, the representative of Richelieu, the opponent of the Hapsburgs, who was anxious to stir up difficulties in Germany which would make it more difficult for Ferdinand to co-operate with the Spaniards in Mantua.¹ The League demanded the dismissal of Wal-

¹ Page 347.

lenstein on the ground of the devastation his army had wrought, the dispossession of the Dukes of Pomerania and Mecklenburg, his ambition and his loyalty to the Emperor, whose supremacy would weaken their own independence.

Ferdinand, anxious to secure the election of his son as King of the Romans and aware of the impending invasion of Gustavus Adolphus, had either to turn against the princes and establish his position with the army of Wallenstein, who would insist on the withdrawal of the Edict of Restitution, or to accept the support of the League, dismiss Wallenstein and disband his army.

September 13th, 1630. Ferdinand informed Wallenstein's army that their leader had been dismissed. The League and Maximilian of Bavaria had gained a great success.

III. The Landing of Gustavus Adolphus.

June 26th, 1630. Gustavus Adolphus landed on the island of Usedom with an army which soon numbered 40,000 men.

He declared that he came to defend Sweden. (He feared that the Baltic coast which Sweden had gained from Russia in 1617 and Sweden itself were threatened by Ferdinand's maritime policy on the Baltic; he wished to defend Protestantism in Germany, which had been weakened by the successes of Tilly and Wallenstein and was threatened by the probable extension of the Counter-Reformation.) He had made a treaty with Christian IV of Denmark in 1628 and made peace with Poland by the Treaty of Stuhmsdorf in 1629, partly owing to intervention of Richelieu, who hoped to secure the help of Gustavus in weakening Austria. His prospects were improved by the Edict of Restitution in 1629, which made the Lutherans more willing to join him, and by the dismissal of Wallenstein in 1630.

But at first the German Protestants gave him little help. They feared that if the Emperor overthrew

Gustavus as he had overthrown Christian IV he would take strong vengeance on any who supported Gustavus ; they feared also that their own independence would be endangered if Gustavus was successful.

Gustavus occupied Pomerania and seized Stettin on July 9th, 1630, thus securing a strong base on the Baltic. But George William of Brandenburg, Gustavus' brother-in-law, resented his seizure of Pomerania and refused to join ; John George of Saxony, a loyal subject of the Emperor, remained neutral. Bernard of Saxe-Weimar and Christian William of Brandenburg were the chief of a few lesser princes who joined Gustavus, and Christian William, who had been deposed from the Administratorship of Magdeburg, returned to that city, which declared for Gustavus.

IV. The Events of 1631.

A. The Treaty of Bärwalde, January 23rd, 1631.

The success of Gustavus led Richelieu to make the Treaty of Bärwalde, by which France and Sweden agreed to co-operate. Gustavus was, as far as possible, to maintain neutrality with the League and Bavaria and to allow Catholicism to continue in places where it was established. Gustavus was to invade Germany with 30,000 foot and 6000 horse. France was to pay him a million livres a year for six years.

B. Protestant meeting at Leipzig, March, 1631.

The Lutheran princes sent a protest to the Emperor against the Edict of Restitution and resolved, while asserting their loyalty to Ferdinand, to raise troops for defence, if necessary.

C. The capture of Magdeburg.

(1) Tilly loses the line of the Oder.

Tilly, now commander of the Imperial armies, captured Neu Brandenburg, massacred its Swedish

garrison and tried to cut off Gustavus, who was operating with part of his forces in Mecklenburg. Gustavus skilfully evaded Tilly, united with the rest of his forces under Horn and after a rapid march captured Frankfort and massacred the garrison in reprisal for the massacre of the Swedes at Neu Brandenburg. Tilly evacuated the line of the Oder and, in conjunction with Pappenheim, besieged Magdeburg.

(2) The fall of Magdeburg, May 20th, 1631.

The refusal of the Electors of Saxony and Brandenburg to give Gustavus a passage through their territories prevented him from relieving Magdeburg, which was captured by Pappenheim. The town was brutally sacked, at least 20,000 people were massacred and most of the buildings were burned.

The failure of Gustavus to relieve Magdeburg was due to the refusal of the two Electors to afford a passage to the Swedes. It might have been obviated if Gustavus had forced his way through Brandenburg and Saxony, in spite of their rulers.

D. Tilly's invasion of Saxony.

(1) Gustavus makes new allies.

Gustavus was now strengthened by new alliances.

a. June, 1631. Alliance between Gustavus Adolphus and George William of Brandenburg, who surrendered Spandau.

b. August, 1631. Alliance between Gustavus Adolphus and Landgrave William of Hesse.

c. The Elector of Saxony refused to obey the Emperor's order to disband his troops. Tilly, reinforced by troops released from service in Italy by the Treaty of Cherasco,¹ invaded Saxony and besieged Leipzig. John George, therefore, in September, 1631, made an alliance with Gustavus against the Emperor.

¹ Page 348.

(2) The Battle of Breitenfeld.

September 17th, 1631. Gustavus, advancing to relieve Leipzig, utterly routed the army of the League under Tilly at Breitenfeld. This battle "brought Germany to its senses, and taught Europe that it had at last come to possess a great King."

E. The march of Gustavus to Mainz.

Gustavus, with Northern Germany bound to him by treaties and interests, sent John George of Saxony to conquer Bohemia and Silesia. He refused a suggestion from Wallenstein to divide Germany with him, decided not to march on Vienna, but to help the Protestants in the centre and south. He made a triumphant march through Thuringia and Franconia, during which he captured Würzburg in October and Frankfort in November, and thus secured the line of the Main. He took Mainz on December 20th, and by the capture of Mannheim on January 8th, 1632, established his hold on the Palatinate.

Meanwhile John George had seized Prague, and the Protestants had secured Mecklenburg, Magdeburg and the neighbourhood and Brunswick.

F. Wallenstein reappointed Commander-in-Chief.

But Gustavus was now so powerful that Richelieu grew anxious for the maintenance of French interests in the Rhine Valley and tried to make peace. But Maximilian of Bavaria, now reconciled to Ferdinand, rejected the offered terms. Ferdinand, since the army of the League was broken, turned again to Wallenstein in December, 1631. Wallenstein agreed to raise an army of 70,000 men; he was to be supreme over all the forces of the Empire; he was to have absolute power of nominating officers, of granting safe conducts and, with some limitations, of making treaties. The Edict of Restitution was withdrawn. Wallenstein was practically Dictator of Germany.

V. The Events of 1632.**A. Gustavus invades Bavaria.**

Gustavus, anxious to prevent a union between Wallenstein and Tilly, pursued the latter, who had not recovered from his defeat at Breitenfeld, into Bavaria.

March 31st, **1632**. Gustavus occupied Nüremberg, crossed the Danube at Donauwerth, which he took on April 5th.

April 15th, **1632**. Gustavus routed Tilly on the Lech. Tilly died of his wounds a fortnight later.

The battle of the Lech greatly strengthened Gustavus and caused anxiety in France, for French policy was to hold the balance between the contending parties; Louis XIII tried to intervene on behalf of Maximilian and after the battle declared "it is time to stop the progress of this Goth"; he stopped the payments he had been making to Gustavus.

May 7th, **1632**. Gustavus entered Munich, prevented his soldiers from sacking it in revenge for the sack of Magdeburg, imposed a contribution of 400,000 dollars on the town.

B. Nüremberg.

But Gustavus did not remain in Bavaria. He was disconcerted to learn of negotiations between John George's minister Arnim and Wallenstein, who captured Prague in May, drove the Saxons out of Bavaria and threatened Nüremberg from Eger, where he had been joined by Maximilian at the head of a Bavarian army.

Gustavus, although he failed to prevent the junction of Maximilian and Wallenstein, reached Nüremberg, which was threatened by a vast camp constructed by Wallenstein, who persistently refused to meet Gustavus in a pitched battle.

September 3rd, **1632**. Failure, with heavy loss, of Gustavus' attempt to storm Wallenstein's camp.

September 18th, **1632**. Gustavus left Nüremberg, moved down the Danube and attacked Bavaria again.

He left Bernard of Saxe-Weimar to hold Franconia and the line of the Main.

C. Lützen.

(1) Wallenstein invades Saxony.

Wallenstein refused to follow Gustavus into Bavaria, but attacked Saxony, took Dresden, where he was joined by Pappenheim, on October 22nd, and soon secured the country between the Elbe and the Saale. He took up winter quarters near Merseburg and, not expecting Gustavus to attack so late in the year, sent Pappenheim to the Rhine.

(2) Gustavus returns from Bavaria.

John George begged Gustavus for help and the latter hurried back, realising that the conquest of Saxony would gravely prejudice his line of return, would threaten Pomerania and might lead to the re-establishment of Hapsburg influence on the Baltic. He joined Bernard of Saxe-Weimar, took Erfurt and Naumberg.

November 16th, 1632. Battle of Lützen. Wallenstein's army was defeated and Pappenheim mortally wounded. But the death of Gustavus, who owing to the fog had ridden into a troop of Imperialist cavalry, made the victory worse than a defeat.

VI. Gustavus Adolphus.

A. A great statesman.

He saw clearly the issues involved in the great contest and firmly maintained the cause of Protestantism and of Swedish independence. He wished to establish a *corpus evangelicorum*, a union of Protestants based on the moral and political needs of the people; he may have hoped that such a union would have made him Emperor; his death ruined the chance of such a union, for he alone could reconcile the leaders of the Calvinists and Lutherans.

He "saved religious liberty for the world" and preached and practised the duty of toleration.

He was a skilful diplomatist, meeting Richelieu on equal terms. The lukewarmness of Holland and England, the thinly disguised hostility of Denmark, the coldness of the German Protestants, failed to divert him from his purpose.

B. A great general.

He was an excellent tactician and a master of military detail. He substituted light columns and shallow lines of soldiers for the dense masses of troops which the Spanish generals preferred; he thus made the fire of the enemy's cannon far less effective. He introduced flying artillery instead of fixing his guns in permanent positions, and thus was able to direct his fire with greater effect. He kept stern discipline, notably when he forbade the pillage of Munich, but won the deep affection of his soldiers by his comradeship and care for their interests.

C. General.

He was a great administrator and a born ruler of men. He was well educated and a very good linguist. He was sincerely religious, and "he was the only man still in power in Germany who ennobled the struggle with a distinct moral ideal."¹ After his death the war became a selfish struggle for territory between the contending parties.

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¹ Wakeman.

FROM THE BATTLE OF LÜTZEN TO THE PEACE OF PRAGUE, 1632-1635

I. The League of Heilbronn, April, 1633.

After the death of Gustavus his political work was continued by his faithful servant Oxenstierna, while Bernard of Saxe-Weimar was the most distinguished of the Protestant generals. The French, relieved of their fear of the growing power of Gustavus, co-operated with Oxenstierna.

A. Oxenstierna's policy.

Oxenstierna, realising that some of the Protestants would be unwilling to recognise the predominance of Sweden now that Gustavus was dead, united the Circles of Franconia, Swabia and the Upper and Lower Rhine, on whom he could rely, in the League of Heilbronn, which Brandenburg, but not Saxony, joined later. Richelieu supported the League partly because he wished to embarrass the Hapsburgs by ensuring the continuance of the war between Sweden and the Empire, partly because he thought the war would enable him to strengthen French influence in the Rhine Valley. The League aimed at restoring the Palatinate to the Elector Frederick's heir [Frederick had died in November, 1632] and Mecklenburg to its Duke, at securing religious toleration and the rights of the princes. The general control of the League was given to Oxenstierna.

B. Some military operations.

December, 1632. Horn conquered most of Alsace.

May, 1633. The capture of Heidelberg completed the reduction of the Lower Palatinate.

August, 1633. The Duke of Lorraine was forced to renounce his alliance with the Emperor and to admit a French garrison into Nancy.

II. Wallenstein.

After his defeat at Lützen, Wallenstein withdrew into Bohemia, where he reorganised his army which, he hoped, would help him again to become Dictator of Germany.

A. Negotiations.

Wallenstein now carried on negotiations with John George and Oxenstierna and proposed that the Edict of Restitution should be withdrawn, that the Swedes should receive territory on the Baltic coast, that Wallenstein should receive the Lower Palatinate instead of Mecklenburg or become King of Bohemia. These negotiations, although unsuccessful, provoked the anger of the Emperor, who was not consulted, of the Jesuits and the strong Catholics, who resented the proposed withdrawal of the Edict, of the Spaniards, who hoped to regain the Lower Palatinate which commanded the route from Milan to the Netherlands.

B. Bavaria, 1633.

Bernard of Saxe-Weimar invaded Bavaria and in November, 1633, took Ratisbon.

Wallenstein drove the Swedes from Silesia in October, 1633, and invaded Brandenburg. The Emperor and Maximilian begged him to save Bavaria; he returned south, but, instead of marching into Bavaria, after spending some time in the Upper Palatinate, returned to Bohemia. His refusal to help Bavaria caused great indignation, and the Emperor was now anxious to make his son Ferdinand¹ head of the army. Wallenstein's action may have been due to—

(1) Jealousy of Maximilian.

(2) The belief that it was advisable while Bernard was engaged in Bavaria to strike at Pomerania and Mecklenburg and cut off the supplies that came to the Swedes from the Baltic.

¹ King of Hungary.

- (3) Resentment at the Emperor's use, without his own knowledge, of Spanish troops under the Duke of Feria to defend Bavaria.

C. The murder of Wallenstein.

Wallenstein resisted the proposals to levy an Imperial army to fight on the Rhine under Spanish direction and refused to give the King of Hungary a command in his army. On January 12th, **1634**, about fifty of Wallenstein's commanders signed a resolution of fidelity to him at Pilsen.

January 24th, **1634**. Partly owing to pressure from the Bavarians and Spaniards, the Emperor deposed Wallenstein and made the King of Hungary commander-in-chief. Wallenstein now tried to conclude an alliance with the Swedes against the Emperor, but failed. Some of his leading officers—Piccolomini, Gallas and Aldringer—deserted Wallenstein; most of his army fell away.

February 25th, **1634**. Wallenstein assassinated in his tent at Eger by Devereux. The question whether Ferdinand issued an Imperial warrant to take Wallenstein "dead or alive" is doubtful, but by the reward he gave to the assassins the Emperor made himself an accessory to the murder.

D. Wallenstein.

Wallenstein was a great general, with a singular power of creating armies. He was a skilful diplomatist, and his plan of re-establishing the supremacy of the Emperor on a basis of religious toleration might possibly have pacified Germany, limited foreign interference and saved the country from some of the losses it sustained by the Treaty of Westphalia.

But he worked largely for his own interests, and the fear that he would use his powerful army for his own ends partly accounts for the Emperor's hostility. Wallenstein found at the end that the result of his earlier diplomacy had cost him the confidence of the Protestants, and his undoubtedly great qualities were nullified by waywardness and selfishness.

III. Nördlingen, 1634.

A. The capture of Ratisbon.

Ferdinand, King of Hungary, now became commander-in-chief of the Imperial armies. The position of the troops would have facilitated a Catholic attack on Pomerania and Mecklenburg; the Saxons were threatening Bohemia, but Ferdinand wisely concentrated on Bavaria.

The Protestants were weakened by the failure of Oxenstierna to extend the operations of the League of Heilbronn; by the resentment of George William of Brandenburg at the Swedish demand for Pomerania and his failure to secure the marriage of his young son to Queen Christina of Sweden; by the growing desire of John George for a separate peace with the Emperor and the inclination of George William to the same policy; and by personal differences between Bernard of Saxe-Weimar and Horn.

July, **1634**. Ratisbon and Donauwörth capitulated to King Ferdinand, who proceeded to besiege Nördlingen.

B. The Battle of Nördlingen, September, **1634**.

The Emperor had now made an alliance with Spain and the two branches of the Hapsburgs were united. The Imperial forces, strengthened by 15,000 Spanish troops which Philip III's son the Cardinal Infant was leading into the Netherlands, utterly routed the Swedes under Bernard and Horn at Nördlingen on September 6th, **1634**, and immediately regained Franconia and Swabia.

The battle was of great importance; it saved Southern Germany for Catholicism and made the Main the division between the two religions; it ended the attempt of the German Protestants to maintain their cause under the leadership of Sweden; it increased the probability of a reconciliation between Saxony and the Empire; it "transferred the centre of gravity to the west," for the Protestants, broken by their defeat, were compelled to

secure the help of France without which the war would probably have ended in the complete victory of the Catholics. Bernard of Saxe-Weimar lost his new Duchy of Franconia and entered the service of Louis XIII; French garrisons were admitted into the Palatine fortresses and, in December, 1634, compelled the Imperialists to raise the siege of Heidelberg.

January, 1635. The Imperialists took Philipsburg.

IV. The Peace of Prague, 1635.

In the altered conditions that followed the battle of Nördlingen, John George of Saxony and the Emperor, who was tired of war, concluded the Peace of Prague on May 30th, 1635.

A. Terms.

- (1) The Protestants and Catholics were to retain all the territories they held on November 12th, 1627. Thus the Protestants secured the northern bishoprics which they had secularised.
- (2) Saxony was to receive Lusatia.
- (3) Pomerania was to be ceded to George William of Brandenburg if he agreed to the Peace.
- (4) The Emperor agreed to allow the exercise of Lutheranism in Silesia.
- (5) Lutheranism, but not Calvinism, received Imperial recognition.
- (6) All territories taken since the landing of Gustavus to be restored to their former owners. This was a direct challenge to France, which had seized Lorraine.

B. Criticism.

- (1) The treaty aimed at the exclusion of both Sweden and France from Germany and thus ensured the continuation of the war, as each of these countries thought that its interests demanded the possession of German land on the Baltic or on the Rhine. The Calvinists, excluded from toleration, would support foreign opponents of the Emperor.

- (2) The action of John George has been condemned as a betrayal of the Protestant cause. But he had always supported the Imperial authority, he was a convinced Lutheran and resented the excesses of which the Calvinists had been guilty, and he realised Germany's urgent need of peace. The Peace "corresponded on the whole, not only to the interests of the contracting parties, but to those of a large majority of the Protestant princes and Free Cities of the Empire and to the yearnings of all its suffering population."¹ But for foreign interference the Peace of Prague would have ended the misery of the Empire. Unfortunately for Germany, the ambition of Richelieu made it ineffective.

References :

Cambridge Modern History, Vol. IV, chap. vii.

Lectures on European History (Stubbs), Longmans, Section III, Lectures VII and VIII.

THE LAST PERIOD OF THE WAR : RICHELIEU, 1635-1643

In its last period the character of the war changed completely owing to the intervention of France and her alliance with Sweden. It was no longer strictly a contest between Catholics and Protestants, for Richelieu, a Catholic, was the mainstay of the war, French armies were sometimes commanded by cardinals, and Pope Urban VIII was in sympathy with France. The position of the Emperor in Germany was no longer one of the main considerations. It was not a purely German war ; (Richelieu was fighting the united Hapsburgs, both Austria and Spain, in order to strengthen his frontier on the Rhine ; (Sweden wished to strengthen her position on the Baltic, and continued to fight because she wanted to secure territorial extension) and refused all offers of pecuniary compensation.

¹ *Cambridge Modern History*.

May, 1635. France formally declared war against the Spaniards, who had seized the Elector of Trèves, an ally of France.

To strengthen his position Richelieu made with Holland the Treaty of Paris for the division of the Spanish Netherlands in February, 1635 ; with Sweden the Treaty of Compiègne in April, 1635 ; with Savoy for the partition of Milan in July, 1635 ; and with Bernard of Saxe-Weimar the Treaty of St. Germain-en-Laye.

I. The Failure of France, 1635-1637.

Contrary to expectations, Richelieu provided four armies, but owing to inexperience and lack of equipment they at first proved unsuccessful.

A. The Rhine.

- (1) 1635. The Imperialists overran the Palatinate and Franconia and drove Bernard of Saxe-Weimar from the right to the left bank of the Rhine. The danger led to an agreement between Richelieu and Bernard.

October 27th, 1635. Bernard undertook to maintain an army of at least 18,000 men, and Richelieu to pay him four million livres a year. The French held that Bernard had become a servant of France, but he claimed the position of an ally.

- (2) 1636. The Imperialists, under Gallas, invaded Burgundy, but were forced to retire.
- (3) June, 1637. The Imperialists captured Ehrenbreitstein.

[February 15th, 1637. Death of Ferdinand II. He was a man of pure life and honesty of purpose. He was a devoted Catholic, largely under the influence of the Jesuits ; the measures he took to establish Catholicism in his dominions were harsh, but free from the cruelty of the Inquisition. His attempts to restore the supremacy of the Empire in Germany failed owing to the independence of the princes.]

The efforts of Bernard prevented the Imperialists from securing a complete triumph.

B. The Netherlands.

1636. A Spanish army invaded Northern France, took Corbie and threatened Paris. The courage of the King inspired the Parisians and the invaders were repulsed.

C. Milan.

1635. A French force failed to reduce the Milanese owing to the weakness of the Duke of Savoy.

D. The Spaniards.

1636. Unsuccessful invasion of Guienne by the Spaniards.

1637. The Spaniards invaded Languedoc, but were repelled.

E. The Swedes.

The position of the Swedes in the North was strengthened by the Treaty of Stuhmsdorf, which they concluded with Poland in September, **1635**; by the Treaty of Wismar, finally concluded in **1636**, Richelieu guaranteed financial aid.

1636. Baner utterly routed the Saxons at Wittstock.

1637. Gallas, sent to help John George of Saxony, who was anxious to secure Pomerania, the old Duke of which had died in March, **1637**, drove Baner into Pomerania, where he made a firm stand.

Bernard and Baner had saved their side from complete defeat, but the general result of the three years was unfavourable to France.

II. The Position of France greatly improves, 1637-1642.

A. The Rhine.

(1) **1638.** Bernard of Saxe-Weimar routed the Imperialists at Rheinfelden in March, overran the Breisgau,

took the strong fortress of Breisach on December 19th. He thus "cut the great serpent in two; no longer with head at Madrid and tail at Brussels could it strangle all Europe in its folds."¹

- (2) Bernard secured Alsace, of which he wished to become Duke, while Richelieu wished to secure it for France.
- (3) July 11th, **1639**. Death of Bernard. The French took the opportunity to seize the fortresses of Alsace. Bernard's army accepted service under Louis XIII. Richelieu imprisoned Charles Lewis, son of Frederick, the former Elector Palatine, because he claimed Bernard's possessions.
- (4) January, **1642**. Guébriant, commanding the "Bernardine" army, routed the Imperialists at Kempten and occupied the Electorate of Cologne and the Duchy of Jülich.

B. Spain.

- (1) **1639**. The Spanish fleet defeated by the French and Dutch in the Downs. The connection of Spain with the Netherlands by sea was interrupted.
- (2) **1640**. Spain was weakened by the successful revolt of Portugal and a rising in Catalonia. Largely owing to the latter, France recovered Roussillon in **1642**.
- (3) **1642**. Failure of the French to take Tarragona. The only serious failure of Richelieu's last years.

C. The Swedes.

- (1) **1640**. Baner compelled to retire from Bohemia which he had invaded.
- (2) **1641**. Baner invaded Bavaria and nearly captured the Emperor Ferdinand III at Ratisbon.
- (3) June, **1641**. The Swedes having joined the "Bernardine" army under Guébriant, the combined armies routed Piccolomini at Wolfenbüttel.

¹ Kitchin.

- (4) July, **1641**. Frederick William, "The Great Elector" of Brandenburg, who had succeeded George William in **1640**, made a treaty with the Swedes.
- (5) November, **1642**. Torstenson, Baner's successor, invaded Saxony, besieged Leipsic and routed the Imperialists, who came to relieve it, at Breitenfeld.

D. Savoy.

1642. The French had become masters of Savoy.

December, **1642**. Death of Richelieu. He left France holding strong positions on the Rhine, in Piedmont, Alsace and Lorraine, and commanding the eastern passes of the Pyrenees owing to the possession of Roussillon, and the western passes of the Alps owing to the possession of Savoy. "He had got his hand upon the throat of his huge antagonist and was choking her."¹

THE LAST PERIOD OF THE WAR MAZARIN, 1643-1648

I. Peace Negotiations.

Attempts had been made to establish peace in **1635** at Cologne by Pope Urban VIII and Venice, in **1637** by Ferdinand II, who negotiated with the Swedes at Hamburg. The death of the great leaders seemed to make peace more probable, and Germany was utterly weary of war. Arrangements were made for a conference at Münster between Ferdinand III and France with the mediation of the Pope and Venice, and at Osnabrück between Ferdinand III and Sweden under the mediation of Christian IV of Denmark.

July, **1643**. After considerable delay the Peace Congresses were opened at Münster and Osnabrück, but the French envoys did not arrive until July, **1644**.

But negotiations were hindered by the fixed determination of France and Sweden to secure territorial

¹ Wakeman.

satisfaction ; by the reluctance of Ferdinand III to surrender Alsace ; by the unwillingness of Ferdinand to conclude any peace in which Spain was not included ; and by the conclusion, in April, **1644**, of an offensive alliance between France and Holland. The death of Richelieu encouraged the Imperialists and fighting continued in spite of negotiations.

II. 1643-1645.

A. The Rhine.

(1) Appointment of Turenne.

November, **1643**. The army of the Rhine under Guébriant advanced towards Munich, but Guébriant was killed at the siege of Rottweil and his successor, Rantzau, routed at Tuttlingen by the Imperialists and driven over the Rhine. Turenne, who had conquered Piedmont, was made commander.

(2) Battle of Freiburg.

August, **1644**. Turenne and Enghien¹ defeated Johann von Werth and Mercy at Freiburg and, largely owing to the humanity they displayed to the native population, easily captured Mainz and Worms and the Lower Palatinate, but, owing to Enghien's impetuosity, failed to take Freiburg.

(3) Trèves.

1645. Turenne captured Trèves and restored the Elector, who strongly supported the French.

B. The Netherlands.

The Cardinal Infant, the Governor of the Netherlands, had died in **1641**, and his successor Mello, hoping to profit by difficulties caused by Richelieu's death, sent an army to invade France.

May 19th, **1643**. Enghien utterly routed the Spaniards at Rocroy by breaking up the massed Spanish troops by heavy artillery fire and charging the disordered ranks

¹ Better known as the Great Condé.

with his infantry. The prestige of the Spanish infantry, long the most efficient in Europe, was shattered. The French took Thionville soon after.

1645. The French captured Gravelines and Cassell.

C. The Swedes.

(1) Denmark.

Christian IV, always jealous of the Swedes, came to terms with the Emperor and prepared for war.

December, **1643.** Torstenson overran Holstein and, in January, **1644**, conquered Jutland.

1645. Denmark compelled to make the humiliating Peace of Brömsbro with the Swedes.

(2) Gallas.

1644. Gallas, the leader of the Imperial army, who had followed Torstenson, was outmanœuvred by Torstenson and driven back to Magdeburg with heavy loss.

(3) Saxony.

1645. John George of Saxony made peace with the Swedes.

III. The Attack on Bavaria and the Emperor's Hereditary Dominions, 1645-1648.

A. Torstenson attacks Austria.

Torstenson, secure from attack from the north, now determined to attack Austria; he arranged for the co-operation of Rakoczy, Prince of Transylvania, who invaded Hungary, and of Enghien and Turenne and set out for Vienna.

(1) The Battle of Jankow.

March, **1645.** Torstenson routed the Austrians at Jankow, and in April was within about thirty miles of Vienna.

(2) Torstenson's retreat.

In May, **1645**, Turenne, marching east to join

Torstenson, was defeated at Mergentheim ; although Enghien won the battle of Nördlingen on August 3rd, **1645**, his losses were so heavy that he fell back on the Rhine ; in August, Rakoczy made an alliance with Ferdinand III. Torstenson was compelled to evacuate Austria. He resigned in December, **1645**, and was succeeded by Wrangel. Torstenson was probably the best of the generals Gustavus had trained, and his successes were obtained in spite of chronic ill-health.

B. Bavaria, **1646-1647**.

(1) The Truce of Ulm, **1647**.

Wrangel, Torstenson's successor, determined to effect a junction with Turenne and invade Bavaria.

September 11th, **1646**. The united armies entered Bavaria ; they failed to take Augsburg, but, owing to the devastation they wrought, Maximilian submitted. By the Truce of Ulm, March, **1647**, he agreed to withdraw his support from the Emperor ; the French and Swedes agreed to evacuate most of Bavaria.

The Emperor had now to carry on the war alone, although a considerable portion of the Bavarian army under von Werth joined him, in spite of Maximilian, whose agreement with the French was strongly resented.

(2) The French lose ground.

In September, **1647**, Maximilian, who objected to the demand of the French that he should give up the Upper Palatinate, became reconciled to Ferdinand, who confirmed him in the Palatine Electorate. In the Netherlands, from July to September, the Archduke Leopold recovered Armentières and Landrecies and defeated the French at Lens, and Turenne was recalled from Germany in consequence. Enghien, who was fighting in Spain, suffered a serious reverse at Lerida in June, **1647**.

(3) The last battles, 1648.

Early in 1648 Wrangel and Turenne again united. They routed the Imperialists at Zusmarshausen in May and ravaged Bavaria; in July a small force of Swedes under Königsmarck invaded Bohemia and captured Prague.

August 20th, 1648. Enghien utterly routed the Archduke Leopold at Lens.

October 24th, 1648. The signature of the Peace of Westphalia ended the Thirty Years' War.

References :

The Ascendancy of France (Wakeman), Rivingtons, pp. 114-124.

The Cambridge Modern History, Vol. IV, chap. xv.

Lectures on European History (Stubbs), Section III, Lectures VIII-X.

THE PEACE OF WESTPHALIA

The Thirty Years' War was concluded by three treaties : the Treaty of Münster, a peace made in January, 1648, between Holland and Spain largely through fear of France; the Treaty of Osnabrück made between the Emperor and the Swedes in August, 1648; the Treaty of Münster made between the Emperor and France on October 24th, 1648. The two latter were combined under the name of the Peace of Westphalia. The main clauses deal with territorial changes, the settlement of the religious question in Germany, the position of the Empire, the independence of European states.

I. The Terms of the Peace.**A. Territorial changes.****(1) France.**

France received as actual possessions the bishoprics

of Metz, Toul and Verdun, which she had held since 1552; ¹ the Austrian possessions in Alsace with some authority over ten Imperial cities, but not Strasburg; the Breisach; the right of garrisoning Philippsburg; Pinerolo.

(2) Sweden.

Sweden received Western Pomerania, the bishoprics of Bremen and Verden, Rügen, the port of Wismar in Mecklenburg and the right of representation in the German Diet.

(3) Bavaria and the Palatinate.

Maximilian received the Upper Palatinate with the rank of Elector; Charles Lewis the Lower Palatinate with the rank of Elector. The electors therefore numbered eight instead of seven, as fixed in the Golden Bull of 1356.²

(4) Brandenburg.

Brandenburg received Eastern Pomerania; instead of Western Pomerania, which she had hoped to secure, she got the bishoprics of Halberstadt and Minden and most of Magdeburg; the Duchies of Cleves and Ravensberg.

(5) Saxony.

Saxony kept Lusatia and part of Magdeburg.

(6) Other German Princes.

The Duke of Brunswick received Osnabrück; the Dukes of Mecklenburg were restored with territorial compensation for the loss of Wismar; Amalia, the "Grand Landgravine" of Hesse-Cassel, a strong friend of France, received the Abbey of Hersfeld.

B. The settlement of religious problems in Germany.

(1) The Ecclesiastical Reservation.

Church property to remain in the hands of those

¹ Page 157.

² Part I, page 279.

who possessed it on January 1st, 1624. Thus the Protestants retained the secularised bishoprics of the North; the Catholics the southern bishoprics. This clause favoured the Protestants by abrogating the Edict of Restitution and restoring some of Tilly's conquests.

(2) Calvinists.

Calvinists were to enjoy the same rights as Lutherans.

(3) Toleration.

The principle *cujus regio ejus religio* was maintained, but toleration to Protestants was explicitly forbidden in the Austrian dominions.

(4) Equality of votes was given to Protestants and Catholics on all commissions of the Diet, and Protestants were granted equality with Catholics in the Imperial Chamber.

C. The Empire.

The princes received territorial independence and were allowed to make alliances between themselves or with strangers so long as they were not directed against the Empire or the Emperor.

D. Recognition of independence.

Holland and Switzerland were recognised as independent states.

II. The Effect of the Peace.

A. Germany.

(1) The Empire.

The machinery of Imperial government was maintained, and the Diets, the Electors and the Imperial Chamber continued to function. But the real power had passed to the princes, and henceforth the Holy Roman Emperor counted for little in Germany.

The Empire became Austrian, and the Emperors, whose real strength lay in their hereditary dominions, and especially in Austria, adopted an Austrian policy and tried to extend their power eastwards along the Danube and southwards into Italy.

(2) The Princes.

Germany became a federation of practically independent states in which the three chief were Brandenburg, which, under the Great Elector, was destined to become the greatest state of Northern Germany; Bavaria, which challenged Austria for supremacy in Southern Germany; and Austria, the source of the Hapsburg power.

(3) The Rhine.

The Rhine ceased to be a German river. The Dutch commanded the mouth, the Swiss the source, the French much of its middle course.

(4) The ruin of the country.

The Thirty Years' War ruined Germany. In Bohemia 6000 out of 35,000 villages were destroyed, and Silesia, Moravia, Bavaria and the Rhinelands suffered terribly, while the Swedes wrought havoc in Saxony and Brandenburg. In many places two-thirds of the houses had been destroyed and only half of those that remained were occupied. The population fell from about sixteen to about six millions, and in the Palatinate only one-tenth survived. Agriculture was ruined and a third of Northern Germany remained uncultivated for years. The establishment of French influence on the Rhine gravely prejudiced the prosperity of the Rhine towns, especially Cologne, Augsburg, Nuremberg and Aachen. The moral tone of the people was lowered, education suffered greatly although the efforts of the Jesuits and of the Moravian Comenius (1592-1671) led to a remarkable revival soon after the Peace of Westphalia.

B. France.

France became the leading power in Europe and acquired "not merely a scientific frontier for offence and defence . . . but an incentive . . . to a vaster scheme of conquest."¹ Her moral ascendancy was established in Western Germany, and although, unlike Sweden, she had not become a member of the Empire, her relations with some of the German states would facilitate her intervention in Germany when she desired. The Peace of the Pyrenees² was soon to strengthen her southern frontier.

C. Sweden.

Sweden now became one of the leading states of Europe, but the comparative poverty of her resources and the growing power of Brandenburg and Russia prevented her from maintaining that position.

D. The Papacy.

Pope Innocent X refused to recognise the Peace of Westphalia, but neither Catholics nor Protestants were affected by his action.

III. General.

The Peace of Westphalia marks the beginning of a new era in Europe.

Protestantism was now firmly established in Europe. Although differences between Catholics and Protestants remained, although in their great struggle Louis XIV to some extent stood for Catholicism and William of Orange for the Reformation, religion was no longer the dominating factor in Europe. Political problems, commercial and colonial development were to play the leading part in the struggles of the eighteenth century.

A. The Empire.

The Holy Roman Empire, which had become German after the fall of the Hohenstaufen, now became Austrian and was attached to the Hapsburg family.

¹ Wakeman.

² Page 361.

B. Germany.

The independence of the princes, the paralysis of the Imperial power, the division between Catholics and Protestants completely shattered the unity of Germany; although the Diet still met, it was a congress of plenipotentiaries. But by strengthening Brandenburg the Peace laid the foundation of the unity that was effected on January 18th, 1871, at Versailles.

C. France.

France secured the preponderance in Europe which the Hapsburgs had enjoyed since the time of Charles V.

The Peace was soon to be followed by the attempt of Louis XIV to extend the borders of France on the Rhine and in the Netherlands. Holland, which had broken the power of Spain, was soon to offer effective opposition to France, which had become a menace to Europe.

D. Various.

The Peace was to lead in time to the rivalry between Austria and Russia for the command of the Danube; to the rivalry between Sweden, Brandenburg and Russia for the command of the Baltic. It marked the end of the Papacy as an international power.

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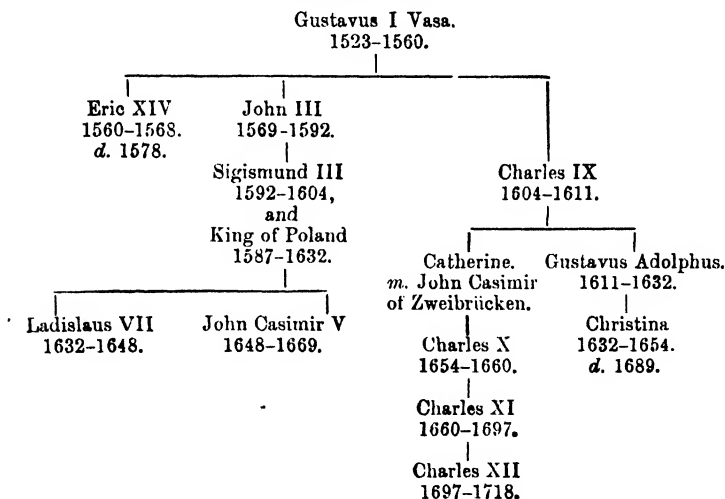
SECTION XIV

NORTHERN EUROPE FROM 1600 TO 1661

SWEDEN

By the beginning of the sixteenth century the Reformation had been firmly established in Sweden and Denmark, but the Counter-Reformation had established Catholicism in Poland. The main problem of Northern Europe in the first half of the sixteenth century was the struggle between Russia, Sweden, Denmark and Poland for the possession of the Baltic coast-line.

THE HOUSE OF VASA



I. Charles IX, 1604-1611.

A. Difficulties of Charles IX.

The right of Charles IX to the throne of Sweden was contested by his nephew Sigismund, King of Poland,

the son of John III of Sweden ; his strong Calvinism offended the Lutherans, who formed the majority of his subjects ; Denmark held the south of Sweden, which had only one port, Elfsborg, on the North Sea ; her foreign trade, which was likely to increase owing to her closer connection with England and Holland, was greatly restricted owing to the heavy dues imposed by Denmark, which commanded the Sound.

B. War.

(1) Poland.

1607-1611. A war with Poland re-established the authority of Sweden in Esthonia.

(2) Russia.

The support given by Poland and Sweden to rival pretenders to the throne of Russia led to war, which was ended by the recognition as King of Russia of Ladislaus, son of Sigismund of Poland, and by the acknowledgment of Gustavus Adolphus, son of Charles IX, as heir to Sweden.

(3) Denmark.

1611. The War of Kalmar. The young Christian IV of Denmark declared war on Sweden because Charles IX claimed sovereignty over Lapland, bore in his arms the three crowns of Denmark, Sweden and Norway, and had prejudiced Danish trade by the foundation of his new port of Gothenburg.

(4) Domestic policy.

In spite of the wars he had to undertake Charles IX materially improved the condition of Sweden by promoting commerce and manufactures, founding towns, of which Gothenburg was the chief, and developing mines.

II. Gustavus Adolphus, 1611-1632.

Gustavus Adolphus succeeded his father at the age of seventeen. He had received an excellent education,

spoke five languages fluently, was an orator, a great soldier,¹ a great statesman. His sound policy was executed without rashness or undue haste, but with vigour and energy, which ensured success. He saw that the safety of Sweden necessitated aggression and resolved to secure the command of the Baltic and the removal of the restrictions placed by Denmark on Swedish commerce. But he realised that his policy was Protestant as well as Swedish, for in Poland the Counter-Reformation was an important factor; he tried, unsuccessfully, to secure the co-operation of England, the United Provinces and the German Protestants, whom his brother-in-law, John Casimir of Zweibrücken, tried to win over to his cause. His marriage in 1620 to Mary Eleanor, sister of George William, Elector of Brandenburg, did not secure for him any real help from Brandenburg.

A. Wars.

(1) The war with Denmark, 1611-1613.

1613. The Treaty of Knarod, concluded through the mediation of James I, closed the War of Kalmar. Christian IV surrendered to Sweden the fortress of Kalmar which he had seized in 1611. Elfsborg was to be kept by Denmark for six years and then redeemed by Sweden for a million florins. The Swedes received the right of free passage through the Sound and made valuable concessions to Denmark.

1628. After the defeat of the Danes in the early part of the Thirty Years' War,² Sweden and Denmark made an alliance, and the Swedes helped in the defence of Stralsund.³

(2) Russia, 1614-1617.

The Treaty of Knarod set Gustavus free to intervene in Russia and the Swedes captured Novgorod. But in 1613 Michael Romanoff, the first of a family which ruled until 1917, became Tsar and put an end

¹ Page 400.

² Page 389, B. (2).

³ Page 391.

to the struggles of rival claimants which had distracted the country from **1605-1613** and given an opportunity of interference of which Sweden and Denmark had taken advantage.

1615. His failure to capture Pskoff discouraged Gustavus.

1617. By the Treaty of Stolbova, in which James I again acted as mediator, Gustavus recognised Michael Romanoff as Tsar and received Ingria and Carelia, thus gaining a continuous coast-line on the Baltic from Colmar to Riga.

(3) Poland, **1617-1618, 1621-1622, 1625-1629.**

The war lasted, with two interruptions, from **1617-1629.**

1621. Gustavus captured Riga and in **1625** overran Courland.

1626. Great Swedish victory at Wallhof.

1626-1629. Gustavus failed to capture Dantzic.

1629. Through the intervention of Richelieu, Sweden and Poland made the Treaty of Stuhmsdorf, by which Sweden kept Livonia and a part of the Prussian coast, including Pillau and Memel.

The Polish war extended the territory of Sweden and gave to the Swedish army experience which was to prove of the utmost value in the Thirty Years' War.

(4) Gustavus and the Thirty Years' War (pages 394-399).

B. Domestic policy.

"Throughout his reign Gustavus Adolphus responded to every national need." He maintained most friendly relations with his subjects, who in return strongly supported him in war. He promoted manufactures, particularly of material of war, established schools and endowed the University of Upsala. He was splendidly served by his great Chancellor, Axel Oxenstierna.

Death of Gustavus Adolphus at Lützen,¹ **1632.**

¹ Page 399.

III. Christina, 1632-1654.

A. The Regency of Oxenstierna.

Oxenstierna ensured the succession of Gustavus' daughter Christina, who was only four years old, and acted as Regent. From 1645 his influence declined.

(1) The form of Government, 1634.

This, the first of modern written constitutions, established Lutheranism as the state religion; appointed a senate of twenty, with the steward, marshal, treasurer, chancellor and admiral to advise the King and act as Regents when necessary; established a bureaucratic form of government in which noble officials became supreme.

(2) The nobles and people.

The nobles were further strengthened by grants of royal land which greatly impoverished the Crown; they supported the war, which gave them opportunities of plunder. The people were oppressed by noble landowners, heavily taxed for war and compelled to supply soldiers.

(3) The Danish War, 1644-1645.

Christian IV, always jealous of Sweden, had urged the Poles to declare war, tried to deprive the Swedes of the results of their successful war in Germany and to injure their commerce by imposing heavy dues on vessels passing the Sound.

1644-1645. Torstenson and Wrangel overran Denmark and drove Christian to the islands.

1645. By the Treaty of Brömsbro, Sweden secured the province of Halland, the islands of Gothland and Oesel and exemption from all tolls in the Sound. The Treaty emphasized the position of Sweden as the leading nation of Northern Europe.

B. The rule of Christina.

Christina had induced the Swedes to accept less at Brömsbro than Oxenstierna desired. Realising the

danger from popular discontent at home, she saw the need of ending the Thirty Years' War and, in opposition to Oxenstierna, materially assisted to secure the Peace of Westphalia.

1649. She determined never to marry and induced the Diet to accept her cousin, Charles Gustavus, son of the Duke of Zweibrücken as her successor.

C. The resignation of Christina.

Christina was brave, straightforward, energetic, original, and masculine in everything but her sex. She was highly educated, and her patronage attracted to Sweden, Grotius, Isaac Vossius and Descartes. But her learned friends were unpopular at Court, and their presence tended to weaken the friendly relations which, under Gustavus, had existed between the King and his subjects. Christina had no financial ability; she continued the ruinous policy of alienating Crown lands and spent vast sums on splendid shows. She disliked the simple standard of life in Sweden, became a Roman Catholic, abdicated in June, **1654**, and immediately left Sweden. She spent most of the rest of her life not very creditably at Rome, where she maintained royal state.

IV. Charles X, 1654-1660.

Charles Gustavus, the son of Catherine, daughter of Charles IX, and John Casimir of Zweibrücken, took the title of Charles X. He found Sweden impoverished by the cost of the Thirty Years' War and the extravagance of Christina, and, at the strong demand of the Commons, secured the "Reduction" or restoration of a considerable amount of the Crown lands that Christina had bestowed on the nobles. He took Axel Oxenstierna as his chief minister, and when he died in **1654** appointed his son Eric as his successor.

Although Charles X continued the policy of Gustavus Adolphus by promoting education, commerce and manu-

facture, he felt that Sweden's interests would be best promoted by successful war, which would provide the means of paying his army and of extending his territory.

A. The Polish War, 1655-1660.

John Casimir V, King of Poland, refused to recognise Charles X as King of Sweden and maintained the right of the Polish branch of the house of Vasa to the Swedish throne; victory over Poland would give to Sweden the Polish province of East Prussia and be a step towards the accomplishment of the great object of Charles—the acquisition of all the south-eastern coast of the Baltic. Poland was now weakened by the attacks of the Cossacks and the Tsar Alexis Romanoff on Lithuania. The efforts of France, which wished to secure the help of both Sweden and Poland against the Hapsburgs, failed to effect a reconciliation, and the war spread until it affected all the Northern Countries.

(1) The first invasion of Poland, 1655.

July, **1655**. Charles X compelled Frederick William, the Great Elector of Brandenburg, to allow the Swedes to pass through Eastern Pomerania, routed John Casimir and took Warsaw and Cracow.

(2) The invasion of East Prussia, 1655-1656.

The Great Elector, fearing the extension of the power of Sweden, tried to form an alliance with the Poles and Danes against Charles X. Charles returned from Poland and overran East Prussia.

1656. By the Treaty of Königsberg the Grand Elector was compelled to admit the suzerainty of Sweden instead of Poland over East Prussia, and to supply Charles with a force of 1500 men.

(3) The second invasion of Poland, 1656.

A national and Catholic rising compelled Charles X to invade Poland again. Assisted by a force of Brandenburgers, he routed John Casimir at Warsaw in July, **1656**. But the Russians attacked Finland

and, in November, made the Treaty of Wilna with Poland ; the Tartars invaded East Prussia ; Charles was compelled to return, and by the Treaty of Labiau, in November, **1656**, tried to secure the fidelity of the Great Elector by recognising him as independent ruler of East Prussia.

1656. The Emperor Ferdinand III promised to help Poland.

(4) Treachery of the Great Elector, **1657**.

September, **1657**. The Great Elector feared that if Charles were successful he might lose East Pomerania ; therefore, in spite of the Treaty of Labiau, he made the Treaty of Wehlau, by which he became the ally of Poland and received from John Casimir, the former suzerain of East Prussia, an acknowledgment of his absolute rights in that province.

B. War with Denmark.

(1) Denmark declares war, **1657-1658**.

Frederick III, King of Denmark, seeing that Charles X was at war with Russia, Poland, Austria and Brandenburg, attacked Sweden, hoping to regain the provinces ceded by the Treaty of Brömsbro in **1645**.

1657-1658. By a remarkable winter march over the frozen sea the Swedes took the islands of Funen, Laaland and Zealand and threatened Copenhagen.

March, **1658**. By the Treaty of Roskild the Danes were compelled to give up all their remaining territory in the south of Sweden and Trondhjem in Norway, thus giving Sweden a wider outlet on the North Sea.

The Elector of Brandenburg and the Tsar of Russia, who feared the alliance of the Emperor and the Poles, were anxious for peace.

(2) A renewal of the Danish War.

Charles wished to put an end to the independence of Denmark ; war was necessary for the maintenance

of his mercenary army for which Sweden could not pay ; details of the Treaty of Roskild remained unsettled and Charles accused the King of Denmark of assisting Leopold, the enemy of Sweden, to become Emperor.

August, **1658**. Charles invaded Denmark. Gallant defence of Copenhagen by Frederick III. In September, Charles took Kronborg. The Great Elector, an Austrian army under Montecuculi and the Poles assisted Denmark, and, although in December, **1658**, Charles made a treaty with Russia, he found himself hard pressed.

(3) The Convention of The Hague, **1659**.

Charles' ambitious schemes aroused resentment in other countries. The French wished to secure the help of Sweden against the Hapsburgs ; the English and Dutch feared that if Charles subdued Denmark and secured control of the Sound their trade with the Baltic would be injured. The three countries bound themselves, in May, **1659**, by the Convention of The Hague, to enforce the Treaty of Roskild. On the refusal of Charles to agree to their terms the Dutch fleet under De Ruyter assisted the Danes, took Funen and routed the Swedes at Nyborg in November, **1659**.

February 13th, **1660**. Death of Charles from fever at Gothenburg.

V. Peace.

A. The Treaty of Oliva, **1660**.

Both Poland and Sweden desired peace. The Poles knew that plans for the partition of Poland had been discussed between Brandenburg, Austria and Russia ; internal difficulties following the death of Charles X and the desire to save Swedish troops who were hard pressed in Prussia influenced Sweden.

May, **1660**. The Treaty of Oliva was made between Poland, Sweden and Brandenburg and the Empire.

- (1) John Casimir V of Poland gave up all claim to the throne of Sweden.
- (2) Sweden was confirmed in the possession of Livonia ; Poland kept West Prussia.
- (3) The Great Elector was recognised as independent sovereign of East Prussia.
- (4) The Emperor restored to Sweden those parts of Pomerania he had conquered.

B. The Treaty of Copenhagen, 1660.

June, 1660. The Treaty of Copenhagen made peace between Sweden and Denmark. It confirmed the Treaty of Roskild. Sweden restored her conquests in Denmark and Norway, but secured most of the territory Denmark had hitherto held in the south of Sweden.

C. The Treaty of Kardis, 1661.

June, 1661. The Treaty of Kardis established peace between Russia and Sweden. It reaffirmed the Treaty of Stolbova,¹ and the Tsar restored what he had conquered in Livonia.

“For the first time in the seventeenth century, Sweden was at peace with all the world.”

D. General.

Sweden, which at the accession of Gustavus Adolphus was weaker than Denmark, had now become the leading northern Power. Although Charles X's Baltic scheme had not been carried out completely, her possessions on the southern and eastern coasts made Sweden an important member of the Empire and a check on the growing power of Russia. But history was soon to show that there were elements of grave weakness in her position abroad, while serious financial and economic problems remained unsolved at home.

Brandenburg, by the acquisition of East Prussia, had

¹ Page 426.

greatly strengthened her position and taken another step towards the establishment of the German Empire in 1871.

Russia, although still excluded from the Baltic, was becoming stronger and would soon compel recognition as a European Power.

POLAND

Ladislaus IV, 1632-1648, and John Casimir V, 1648-1669.¹

Under the two sons of Sigismund III the turbulent nobles of Poland grew stronger; Sweden² remained a standing danger; Brandenburg grew stronger under the Great Elector, to whom John Casimir was compelled to cede East Prussia in 1657.³

A. The Cossacks of the Ukraine.

1648. The Cossacks, under the leadership of their Hetman, Chmelnicki, attacked Poland and cruelly treated the Jesuits, whose missionary efforts they strongly resented. With the help of the Tartars the Cossacks defeated the Poles.

1651. John Casimir V defeated the Cossacks and Tartars and reduced the military force of the former.

B. Russia.

1634. Ladislaus, now King of Poland, renounced his claim to the throne of Russia.

1653. The Cossacks took oaths of allegiance to the Tsar Alexis, who invaded Poland and in **1654** took Smolensk and Kieff, overran the Ukraine and took the title of "Grand Prince of Lithuania and White Russia."

A war now broke out between Alexis and Charles X, who were jealous of each other's success in Poland, and

¹ Or John Casimir II, counting from the accession of the Jagellons in 1386.

² Pages 426, 429.

³ Page 430.

this war probably postponed until the seventeenth century the Partition of Poland, which might now have been effected by Sweden, Russia and Brandenburg. Alexis made peace with Poland in **1656**, and Cossacks and Tartars fought for John Casimir against the Swedes. Sweden and Russia had made peace by the Treaty of Kardis in **1661**; but the war between Alexis and the Poles continued till **1667**, when the Treaty of Andrusoff was made. By this the Cossacks were divided between Poland and Russia.

DENMARK

I. Christian IV, 1588-1648.

Christian IV was only eleven when his father died, and a Regency of nobles governed Denmark until **1596**. He was recognised as Duke of Holstein in **1588**, thus becoming a member of the Lower Saxon Circle. The marriage, in **1589**, of his sister Anne to James VI of Scotland brought Denmark into closer relations with Scotland and, after **1603**, England. His reign saw Denmark give place to Sweden as the leading northern Power, the utter failure of Danish intervention in Germany, the maintenance of the dangerous power of the nobles at home.

A. Sweden.

Jealousy of Sweden caused the War of Kalmar, **1611-1613**.¹ Later, common danger from the Counter-Reformation led Denmark and Sweden to remain at peace, in spite of quarrels as to the control of the Sound. The defeat of Christian IV in the Thirty Years' War² led to the conclusion of a treaty between Sweden and Denmark in **1628** and the intervention of Gustavus Adolphus in Germany.

¹ Pages 424, 425

² Page 389.

1645. By the Treaty of Brömsbro,¹ Denmark lost much territory, and the terms of the treaty "marked clearly the degradation of Denmark from the primacy of the North."

B. The Thirty Years' War (pages 386-392).

C. Internal policy.

Christian patronised education and supported commerce ; he developed the resources of Norway. But he did nothing to lessen the heavy burden of taxation and by his failure to break the power of the nobles or to provide a strong Danish army seriously injured his country. His imposition of heavy dues on vessels passing through the Sound aroused the enmity of Sweden and the United Provinces.

II. Frederick III, 1648-1670.

Sweden continued to be a grave danger until the Treaty of Copenhagen was concluded in **1660**. Owing to the success of Charles X, his father-in-law, Duke Frederick III, established himself in Holstein, which was thus severed from Denmark.

For Frederick's treatment of the nobles, see page 439.

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SECTION XV

NORTHERN EUROPE FROM 1660 TO 1719

DENMARK

I. The Establishment of Absolute Monarchy.

A. Position of Denmark in 1660.

The war ended by the Peace of Copenhagen in 1660 had devastated much of Denmark, caused acute financial depression, deprived Denmark of much territory in Sweden and strengthened Duke Frederick III in his Duchy of Holstein-Gottorp, which the Kings of Denmark wished to secure.

B. The nobles and the King.

The nobles owned about half of Denmark, paid no taxes, claimed that their privileges excused them from sharing in the defence of Copenhagen,¹ were supreme in the Rigsraad and used their power to promote their own selfish interests.

King Frederick III had gained much popularity by his defence of Copenhagen; he had conciliated the burghers by giving the privilege of nobility to those who had fought well, by making Copenhagen a free city, a staple town and one of the States of Denmark. His Queen, Sophia Amelia of Hanover, took an active part in the movement against the nobles and was supported by Svane, Bishop of Zealand and Nansen, Burgomaster of Copenhagen.

C. The Establishment of Hereditary Monarchy.

September, 1660. The Estates decided to impose new taxes to meet the financial crisis, but the nobles claimed exemption. The clergy and burghers, who renounced

¹ Page 431.

any privileges they enjoyed, compelled the nobles to submit. But their selfishness so enraged the people that they changed the constitution from an elective to a hereditary monarchy in October, 1660.

The "Capitulation," by which Frederick III had made concessions to the nobles at his election, was annulled; the Rigsraad became a royal council; the *Kongelov*,¹ which was drawn up by Peter Schumacher² in 1665, asserted the absolute power of the Crown.

II. The War between Denmark and Sweden, 1675-1679.

A. Causes.

Christian V (1670-1699) of Denmark, taking advantage of the defeat of the Swedes at Fehrbellin³ by the Great Elector in 1675, suddenly attacked the Duke of Holstein-Gottorp, the ally and uncle of Charles XI (1660-1697) of Sweden; and, hoping to recover Scania, declared war on Sweden. The Swedes were hampered by the danger from Norway, which was Danish territory, and by the desire of Scania to be reunited with Denmark; by the fact that the Great Elector, the Dukes of Brunswick-Lüneburg and the Bishop of Münster were at war with Sweden.

B. The War of Scania.

1675. The Danes took Landskrona and recovered Scania.

The dashing heroism of Charles XI retrieved the fortunes of Sweden.

1676. The Danish and Dutch fleets seized Gothland, but Charles XI routed the Danes at Lund.

1677. Charles XI routed Christian V at Landskrona, but the Danish fleet defeated the Swedish at Rostock.

C. The Peace of Lund, 1679.

Owing to an invasion of Denmark by the French, the allies of Sweden, Christian V was compelled to agree to

¹ King's Law.

² Afterwards Count of Greiffenfeld.

³ Page 460.

1679. The Treaty of Fontainebleau, by which Scania was restored to Sweden, and Holstein-Gottorp to its Duke. The Peace of Lund established a military and commercial alliance between Sweden and Denmark, and Charles XI married Christian's sister Ulrica.

For references, see page 453.

SWEDEN UNDER CHARLES XI, 1660-1697

Although at the death of Charles X, Sweden was the leading power in Northern Europe, the hostility of Denmark, the desire of Brandenburg to secure Pomerania and of Russia to gain an outlet on the Baltic coast made her position insecure. The financial position was desperate. The Church was independent of the State. The nobles were very powerful and established a Council of Regency which governed in their interests.

I. The Regency, 1660-1672.

Largely owing to the influence of La Gardie, Sweden endeavoured by foreign alliances to obtain support against her enemies and subsidies which would relieve the financial position.

1668. Sweden joined the Triple Alliance against France¹ because Louis XIV had withdrawn the subsidies he formerly paid, and the Dutch now guaranteed their payment.

1672. Sweden made an alliance with France. Louis XIV promised to pay an annual subsidy of 400,000 crowns in peace and 600,000 in war. The Swedes were to supply an army of 16,000 men for service against Louis' enemies in Germany.

In spite of La Gardie's policy, and owing to the rapacity of the nobles, the financial position grew worse, and when Charles XI began to rule in **1672** he "could neither borrow money, nor pay his servants."

¹ Page 523.

II. War between Brandenburg and Sweden, 1675-1679.**A. Fehrbellin, 1675.**

Frederick William, the Great Elector, had joined the coalition against France in 1672 and been defeated by Turenne. In 1674 he again joined the Empire, Spain and the United Provinces against France and took part in operations on the Rhine. Louis XIV threatened to stop the subsidies he had paid to Charles XI since 1672 unless the Swedes invaded Brandenburg.

June 18th, 1675. The Great Elector, with much inferior forces, routed the Swedes at Fehrbellin.

This battle broke the military reputation of the Swedes, led Denmark to declare war¹ and was followed by the conquest of Pomerania by the Great Elector, who captured Stettin in 1677 and Stralsund in October, 1678.

B. Treaty of St. Germain-en-Laye, 1679.

Louis XIV restored Cleves to the Great Elector, paid him 300,000 crowns and compelled him to restore to Sweden all his conquests except a small piece of territory on the Oder.

III. The Establishment of Absolute Monarchy.

The intervention of France had saved Sweden, but the gross mismanagement of the war utterly discredited the nobles.

The establishment of absolute monarchy was due to the action of the Estates of the Clergy, Burghers and Peasants, who in 1680 established a Commission to investigate the actions of the Regency, compelled the nobles to agree to a "Reduction," or resumption by the Crown of alienated royal domains and, in December, declared that the King was absolute and responsible to God alone. In 1682 a further Reduction completed the overthrow of the nobles and greatly improved national finances; the Estates admitted the claim of Charles to

¹ Page 440.

control legislation, taxation and administration, to take the property of his subjects and to repudiate debts of the Crown.

In the Province of Livonia the Crown resumed nearly five-sixths of the landed estates. John Reinhold Patkul came to Stockholm in 1694 and made a strong protest. He was condemned to death, but escaped and entered the service of Augustus of Saxony, who became King of Poland in 1697.

1686. Charles XI established, for the first time, the supremacy of the Crown over the Church.

IV. The Benevolent Despotism of Charles XI.

Gyllenstierna, who had strongly advocated peace with Denmark, died in 1680; Charles, greatly to the advantage of Sweden, adopted a peaceful policy. He broke the tradition of alliance with France, which he regarded as the disturber of Europe, took only a small part in the war of the Grand Alliance and by tactful mediation between the opposing parties helped to make the Treaty of Ryswick.¹

Charles XI proved himself an honest, hardworking and capable sovereign. Under his patronage industry, and particularly cloth, iron and shipbuilding, flourished. He reorganised the navy and army; he required the nobles to supply soldiers according to their means, and made provision from the Crown lands for the support of soldiers.

Charles XI reorganised the finances; lived very simply and devoted to the public service the money derived from taxation.

The remarkable achievements of Charles XII were largely due to his father's policy.

For references, see page 453.

¹ Page 541.

CHARLES XII OF SWEDEN, 1697-1718, AND THE GREAT NORTHERN WAR

Charles XI of Sweden died in April, **1697**, having appointed a Regency to govern Sweden for his son Charles XII, who was only fifteen. But in November, at the request of the Estates, the Riksdag and the Regents themselves, Charles XII took the government into his own hands. He had received an excellent education, was a good linguist and mathematician, was brave and determined ; his father had given him an insight into the methods of government and administration. But he was essentially a soldier ; he was a born fighter and, though not a good strategist, his endurance, enthusiasm and reckless bravery gained for him the absolute devotion of the powerful army he owed to his father's measures.

I. The First Coalition against Sweden, 1699.

A. The opponents of Sweden.

(1) Denmark.

Denmark, anxious to secure the Duchy of Holstein-Gottorp, resented the closer union between Sweden and the Duchy which resulted from the marriage of Duke Frederick IV to Charles' sister Hedwig and the strong affection that arose between Charles and his brother-in-law.

(2) Russia.

Peter the Great had established his power in Russia, was determined to secure an outlet on the Baltic and strongly resented the provision of the Treaty of Kardis, **1661**, which gave the eastern coast-line of the Baltic to Sweden.

(3) Poland.

Augustus the Strong, Elector of Saxony, became

King Augustus II of Poland in **1697**. He made a strong profession of friendship for his cousin Charles XII, but was anxious to wrest Livonia from Sweden and proposed to use for this purpose the Saxon troops which he had introduced into Poland.

Patkul, naturally indignant at the treatment he had received from Charles XI, and perhaps anxious to save Livonia from the power of Sweden, played a great part in forming the Coalition. The accession of the ambitious and energetic Frederick IV to the throne of Denmark in August, **1699**, was followed by an alliance formed against Sweden in November, **1699**, between Denmark, Poland and Russia. Brandenburg refused to join, although Patkul, who was suspicious of Peter the Great, would have preferred Brandenburg to Russia.

B. Charles XII defeats Denmark, 1700.

(1) The Danes invade Schleswig.

Frederick IV, thinking that the Saxons who were attacking Riga would keep Charles XII occupied, tried to seize Holstein-Gottorp and invaded Schleswig in March, **1700**.

(2) Charles XII attacks Copenhagen.

Charles XII had made a treaty with the Maritime Powers in January, **1700**. Assisted by English and Dutch fleets he sailed for Copenhagen, and the knowledge that his capital was in serious danger compelled Frederick IV to agree to

(3) The Peace of Travendal, August, 1700.

Frederick IV withdrew from his alliance with Poland and Russia, promised to recognise Frederick IV of Holstein-Gottorp and paid an indemnity to Charles XII, who agreed to treat him leniently because he was anxious to crush Augustus of Poland, whose treachery had aroused his deep resentment.

C. Charles XII defeats the Russians at Narva, 1700.**(1) The success of Charles.**

The forces of Augustus II had been defeated at Riga and driven over the Dwina ; Livonia had not risen against Sweden ; Augustus begged Peter the Great to assist him by invading Ingria. Peter therefore advanced on Narva, which was the key of Ingria.

November 30th. Charles XII, relieved from danger from Denmark by the Peace of Travendal, after a daring march utterly routed the Russians at Narva and regained the whole of the Baltic coast-line. Instead of pursuing Peter, who had escaped from Narva, Charles, thinking that the Russians " could be beaten at any time," determined to punish the treacherous Augustus II.

(2) Peter secures a position on the Baltic.

Peter, who had learned from defeat the deficiencies of his soldiers, used the opportunity to reorganise his army and gained important successes over the inadequate forces Charles had left in the Baltic provinces.

1702. The Russians defeated the Swedes at Errestfer.

1703. Peter laid the foundation of St. Petersburg and fortified Kronschtot (Kronstadt) to protect it.

1704. The Russians took Dorpat and Narva, thus securing Ingria.

D. Charles XII defeated Augustus of Poland, 1701-1706.

Owing to his determination to punish Augustus II, Charles refused the request of the English and Dutch to join them in the War of the Spanish Succession which was obviously impending.

(1) The invasion of Poland.

1701. Charles invaded Courland, a Polish fief.

1702. Charles entered Warsaw on May 14th and demanded the deposition of Augustus ; on July 2nd he routed the Saxons and Poles at Clissow, where his

brother-in-law, Frederick IV of Holstein-Gottorp, was killed ; three weeks later Cracow submitted to Charles.

1703. Charles routed the Saxons at Pultusk and captured Thorn.

1704. An assembly at Warsaw deposed Augustus. In July, owing to heavy bribery, Stanislaus Lesczinski was elected King of Poland by a small minority owing to the pressure of Charles XII. Augustus recaptured Warsaw in August, but was routed by Charles at Punitz in October.

1705. Stanislaus was crowned King of Poland in October and agreed to help Charles XII against Peter the Great, who had in **1704** made a fresh treaty with Augustus.

(2) The invasion of Saxony and the Treaty of Altranstadt, 1706.

1706. The Saxons and the Russians, who had invaded Courland, were routed by the Swedes at Fraustadt. By a rapid retreat the Russians escaped from Charles XII, who, as in **1701**, left the pursuit of the Russians to attack Augustus. Although the Swedish army was defeated at Kalish, Charles XII invaded Saxony, and Augustus was compelled, in October, **1706**, to make the Treaty of Altranstadt, by which he acknowledged Stanislaus as King of Poland, renounced his alliance with Russia and surrendered Patkul to Charles, who had him executed.

E. Pultava, 1709.

Charles XII was now at the height of his success. His help was sought both by France and Spain and by the Allies ; but he determined to turn against Peter the Great, who had gained much of the Baltic coast owing to the absence of Charles in Poland and Saxony. Peter made offers of peace, but refused to surrender St. Petersburg and his strong position on the Neva which Charles

regarded as essential for the continuation of the Swedish Empire on the Baltic. Charles therefore invaded Russia and made an alliance with Mazepa, the Hetman of the Cossacks of the Ukraine, who rebelled against Peter.

June, **1709**. Charles XII was utterly routed by greatly superior Russian forces at Pultava. Charles escaped to the Turks at Bender. His defeat overthrew the work of Gustavus Adolphus; ended the preponderance of Sweden in Northern Europe; led to the flight of King Stanislaus to Swedish Pomerania; greatly increased the prestige of Russia, which gained much of Livonia and Esthonia; led to a new coalition against Sweden.

II. The Second Coalition against Sweden, 1709.

A. The Coalition.

Frederick IV of Denmark and Augustus of Poland had made an alliance in June, **1709**, against Sweden, but, owing to the friendship of England and the United Provinces towards Sweden, agreed not to attack the Swedish territory in Germany unless Sweden attacked their dominions. In October, Peter the Great agreed to help Augustus to regain Poland on condition of receiving Livonia. Frederick I of Prussia made defensive treaties with the Allies, but would not promise active intervention against Sweden.

B. Frederick IV invades Sweden, 1709-1710.

Frederick invaded Scania, but was routed at Helsingborg in March, **1710**, and compelled to withdraw. In spite of the defeat of Pultava the Swedish army, formed by Charles XI, proved strong enough to resist a hostile invasion; but the intervention of Frederick in Sweden facilitated the operations of Peter the Great, who, in **1710**, invaded Finland, captured Riga and Revel and completed the conquest of Livonia.

C. Peter the Great and the Turks, 1711-1713.

(1) Causes of ill-feeling between Turkey and Russia.

Peter had conquered Azoff in 1696 and was anxious to secure an outlet on the Black Sea ; he wished to protect the Christians of Moldavia and Wallachia from persecution by the Turks ; he resented the friendly reception Charles XII had received from the Turks. The Sultan, Achmet III, fearing the aggression of Russia, persuaded by Charles XII, and resenting a threat of war from Peter the Great, declared war on Russia in March, 1711.

(2) The Pruth, 1711.

A Russian army under Sheremetieff was compelled to surrender to the Turks on the River Pruth. Peter concluded the Treaty of the Pruth, by which he agreed to give back Azoff to the Turks, to dismantle the places, including Taganrog, he had fortified on Turkish territory, to recall his troops from Poland, to allow Charles XII, who strongly resented the easy terms of the surrender, to return to Sweden.

(3) The Peace of Adrianople, 1713.

Charles XII remained in Turkey and, with the support of the French ambassador, succeeded in provoking Achmet again to declare war on Peter, who had not removed his troops from Poland, where Augustus was firmly established as King. Finding Peter stronger than he expected, Achmet, through the mediation of the Maritime Powers, concluded the Peace of Adrianople in July, 1713, which settled all his differences with Russia. In April, 1714, he confirmed the Peace of Carlowitz with Augustus II of Poland.

Charles XII, who was greatly disappointed at the reconciliation of Achmet and his enemies, had been removed by force from Bender and returned to Germany with only two companions ; he rode over a thousand miles in seventeen days, during eight of which he did not take off his boots. He reached Stralsund on November 21st, 1714.

III. The Third Coalition against Sweden, 1715.

During the absence of Charles, Frederick IV of Denmark had seized Bremen and Verden in **1712**; a Swedish army under Stenbock had invaded Denmark, but been compelled to surrender at Oldenburg in May, **1713**; the Russians and Saxons had taken Stettin in September, **1713**; Peter the Great had secured Finland after routing the Swedes at Storkyro, in March, **1714**; the Elector George of Hanover, a strong opponent of Charles XII, who was anxious to secure Bremen and Verden, became King of England on the death of Queen Anne (August 1st, **1714**).

A. The Coalition.

Mainly owing to the influence of George I a new Coalition was formed for the partition of Swedish territory between Hanover, Denmark, Prussia, Poland and Russia. Hanover was to get Bremen and Verden on payment of compensation to Denmark; Prussia, Stettin; Denmark part of Pomerania and Holstein-Gottorp. Although the Allies were weakened by jealousy, Sweden was nearly exhausted and seemed certain to fall before the overwhelming forces of the Coalition.

B. Stralsund, 1715.

1715. Charles XII, on the refusal of Frederick William I (**1713-1740**) to restore those parts of Pomerania which he had seized, occupied the island of Usedom, but on the capture of Stralsund in December, **1715**, he was compelled to flee to Sweden. In April, **1716**, the Allies took Wismar.

C. Designs on Sweden.

The Allies now decided to employ the fleets of England, Denmark and Russia in attacking Charles XII in Sweden. But dissensions arose between them. Hanover and Denmark strongly resented Peter's attempt in **1716** to secure

Wismar and Warnemünde for the Duke of Mecklenburg-Schwerin, who had married his niece ; an attack on Scania, planned for September, **1716**, was postponed, much to the indignation of the other Allies, owing to the withdrawal of the Russians because Peter considered it would be dangerous to attack the strong position Charles had taken up.

D. The Treaty of Amsterdam.

August, **1717**. The Treaty of Amsterdam was now concluded between France, Russia and the United Provinces and guaranteed the contracting powers in the possession of their territories. It " may be said to have introduced Russia into the general European system."

E. Negotiations for peace between Russia and Sweden, 1718.

Peter, realising the instability of the Coalition, now opened negotiations for alliance with Sweden and secured the active intervention of France. Although the Swedes were reluctant to make an alliance with Russia, the Swedish minister Görtz secured very favourable terms. Peter was willing to restore Finland, but not Ingria, Livonia and Carelia, to reinstate Stanislaus as King of Poland ; to induce Prussia to restore Stettin and Hanover ; to restore Bremen and Verden to Sweden and to secure Mecklenburg for Sweden ; to agree to the conquest of Norway by Charles.

F. Death of Charles XII, 1718.

Although the alliance with Russia was not formally concluded, Charles took advantage of the goodwill of Peter to attack Norway.

December 11th, **1718**. Charles killed in the trenches while besieging Friedrickshall.

IV. The Settlement of the North.

The death of Charles led to the withdrawal of the Swedes from Norway ; the unjust execution of Görtz

for traitorous correspondence with Russia ; a revolution which made Charles' younger sister Ulrica Queen of Sweden and thus passed over Frederick V, Duke of Holstein-Gottorp, who as the son of Charles' elder sister Hedvig¹ had a better claim.

A. Treaties with Hanover and Prussia, 1719, 1720.

By two treaties of Stockholm, made in November, 1719, and February, 1720, Sweden agreed to surrender Bremen and Verden to Hanover, and Stettin and adjoining territory to Prussia. George I agreed to support Sweden in her wars with Russia and Denmark.

B. Treaty with Poland.

The Swedes recognised Augustus II as King of Poland, but Stanislaus was to keep the royal title and receive a pension from Augustus.

C. Treaty with Denmark, 1720.

By the Treaty of Stockholm in June, 1720, Denmark, owing to the desire of England that Sweden should not be driven out of Germany, restored to Sweden Stralsund, Rügen and part of Pomerania in return for 600,000 dollars ; Denmark kept Schleswig.

D. The Peace of Nystäd, 1721.

In spite of all the country had suffered, Sweden, relying on England's promised help, refused to cede any of her Baltic provinces to Russia. But England sent no military help ; her negotiations with Russia failed to secure better terms for Sweden, and the Russians, seeing that Sweden would yield only to compulsion, three times devastated the Swedish coasts.

August, 1721. By the Peace of Nystäd Sweden ceded to Russia Livonia, Esthonia and Ingria and part of Carelia. Peter restored Finland, paid an indemnity of two million thalers and acknowledged the right of Sweden to free trade in the Baltic.

¹ Page 444.

E. General.

The treaties which closed the Great Northern War mark the final failure of the attempt of Sweden to secure predominance in Northern Europe and a strong influence in Germany; this attempt, with which the names of Gustavus Adolphus, Charles X and Charles XII are closely connected, had been the most important historical problem in the North during the seventeenth century. Henceforth Sweden was only a third-rate Power.

The treaties secured for Russia a great part of the eastern Baltic coast and definitely recognised her as a great Power. Her struggle with Turkey was to continue at first as an attempt to extend her territory southwards and to secure an outlet on the Black Sea, and later as an attempt to divide up the territory of Turkey. From this struggle arose the Eastern Question of the nineteenth century and the attempt of Russia to secure Constantinople in the Great War of the twentieth.

The treaties mark also a further step in the attempt of Prussia to secure the leadership of Northern Germany.

References :

The Ascendancy of France (Wakeman), Rivingtons, chap. XIII.
The Cambridge Modern History, Vol. V, chaps. XVIII and XIX.
Modern Europe (Dyer and Hassall), Bell and Sons, Vol. IV, chap. XLII.

THE BEGINNING OF PRUSSIA**I. The Mark of Brandenburg.****A. The early history.**

- (1) 928. Henry the Fowler established the Saxon Nordmark as a bulwark against the Wends; Brandenburg, the chief Wendish fortress, became the capital of the Nordmark.¹

¹ *Notes on European History*, Part I, page 64.

- (2) **1133.** The Emperor Lothair made Albert the Bear Margrave of Brandenburg. Albert is said to have founded Berlin about **1163.**
- (3) **1186.** The Emperor Frederick I invested Margrave Otto II with Pomerania—this investiture was the foundation of the claims to Pomerania advanced by later Margraves.

[Pomerania and Brandenburg were not finally united until the Treaty of Vienna, **1815.**]

- (4) **1227.** Following the defeat of Waldemar II of Denmark, the Margraves of Brandenburg secured the territory around the Spree.
- (5) **1356.** The Margrave of Brandenburg was made an Electorate by the Golden Bull of the Emperor Charles IV.¹
- (6) During the fourteenth century Brandenburg was held by Lewis of Bavaria, son of the Emperor Lewis IV, the Bavarian (**1314-1347**); by Sigismund, the son of the Emperor Charles IV (**1347-1378**); by Sigismund's cousin, Jobst of Moravia.²

B. The Hohenzollern Electors of Brandenburg.

- (1) Frederick of Hohenzollern.

1415. Frederick of Hohenzollern, Burgrave of Nuremberg, bought the Electorate from the Emperor Sigismund (**1410-1437**) and became the first Hohenzollern Elector of Brandenburg. The acquisition of Baireuth and Anspach, through his mother, in **1420**, gave him important interests in Franconia.

- (2) The *Dispositio Achillea*.

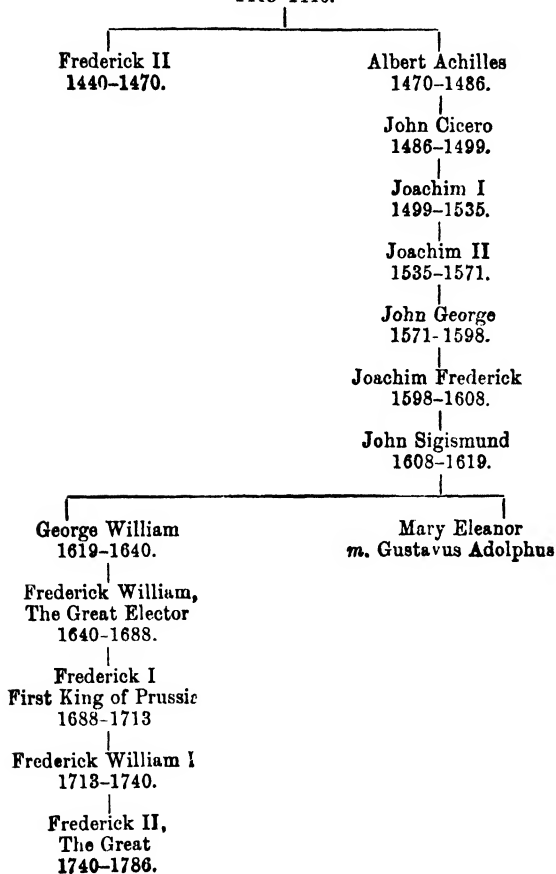
The Elector Albert Achilles (**1470-1486**) secured part of Silesia and reinvestment, though not possession, of Pomerania. By his famous will he provided that, while his territories should never be divided into more than three parts, Brandenburg should always remain united.

¹ *Notes on European History*, Part I, page 279.

² *Ibid.*, page 294.

THE HOHENZOLLERNS

Frederick I, First Elector of Brandenburg.
1415-1440.



(3) The Reformation.

Long before the Reformation the Margraves of Brandenburg had secured the nomination of bishops and the authority over monasteries in their territories.

1541. The Elector Joachim II (1535-1571) received the sanction of the Emperor for the Reformation in Brandenburg and secured for his grandson Joachim Frederick the administration of the see of Magdeburg in 1566.

(4) Bureaucracy.

Under Joachim Frederick (1598-1608), a rigid Lutheran, a Council of State was appointed which limited the authority of the Estates and secured important administrative powers. This may be regarded as the germ of the Prussian bureaucratic system.

C. The Hohenzollerns in Baireuth and Anspach.

The younger branch of the Hohenzollerns succeeded to Baireuth and Anspach.

1523. Margrave George of Anspach strengthened the Hohenzollern interest in Silesia by securing the Principality of Jägerndorf.

1603. The succession to Baireuth and Anspach reverted to Joachim Frederick, Elector of Brandenburg, who gave them to his brothers, and Jägerndorf to his son John George.

D. John Sigismund, Elector of Brandenburg, 1608-1619.

(1) The claim to Cleves, Jülich and Berg.

John Sigismund married Anne, daughter of Albert of Prussia and his wife Mary Eleanor of Cleves.¹

1609. On the death of his uncle, John William, Duke of Cleves, Jülich and Berg, John Sigismund claimed his Duchies and secured the help of Henry IV of France.

1614. By the Treaty of Xanten the Duchies were divided and Cleves was awarded to Brandenburg.

¹ See page 340.

(2) East Prussia.

1618. On the death of Duke Albert Frederick, John Sigismund obtained the Duchy of Prussia and thus made good a claim to the Duchy which had been advanced by the Elector Joachim II of Brandenburg in 1568. The Duchy of Prussia was under the suzerainty of Poland.

(3) Calvinism.

Brandenburg was Lutheran. In 1613 John Sigismund declared himself a Calvinist. As a result of this difference between the Elector and his people religious toleration was established in Brandenburg, and owing to this many Protestant refugees, to whom Prussia largely owed her economic development in the seventeenth century, fled for refuge to the country.

II. The Duchy of East Prussia.

The Knights of the Teutonic Order¹ conquered Prussia between 1231 and 1260. Poland, which had in vain tried to reduce Prussia, was jealous of the success of the Order, and by the Second Peace of Thorn, 1466,² secured for itself Western Prussia, lying west of the Vistula and including Dantzic; while the Order retained Eastern or Ducal Prussia, including Königsberg, as a fief of Poland.

1511. Albert of Anspach, nephew of King Sigismund I of Poland, was elected Grand Master of the Order.

1525. Albert, who had become a Protestant, received from King Sigismund the Duchy of Prussia, which had been secularised. Thus a Hohenzollern became the first Duke of Prussia, and through his action "the ultimate expansion of the dynastic power of the Hohenzollerns may be said to have been first rendered possible."³

1618. On the death of Duke Albert Frederick his son-in-law, John Sigismund, Elector of Brandenburg, secured the Duchy of Prussia, which was united to Brandenburg.

¹ *Notes on European History*, Part I, page 351.

² *Ibid.*, page 354.

³ *Cambridge Modern History*, Vol. V, page 635.

III. George William, Elector of Brandenburg, 1619-1640.

George William failed to take advantage of the opportunities of aggrandizement the Thirty Years' War afforded.

Although himself a Calvinist, the head of a Lutheran state and the brother-in-law of Gustavus Adolphus, he had strong Imperial sympathies and opposed the dismemberment of the Empire; he was anxious to secure Pomerania which Gustavus had occupied. He had protested against the Edict of Restitution (1629), but remained neutral, and his refusal to allow Gustavus Adolphus to pass through his territory was one of the reasons why the latter failed to relieve Magdeburg in 1631.¹ His acceptance of the Peace of Prague in 1635 led to the invasion of Cleves by the Dutch, and although Brandenburg declared war on Sweden in 1636, George William failed to secure Pomerania.

In 1638 he left Brandenburg, which owing to his feeble policy had been devastated, for East Prussia, where he died broken-hearted in 1640.

References :

Cambridge Modern History, Vol. V, chap. xx.

The Close of the Middle Ages (Lodge), chap. xx.

THE GREAT ELECTOR, 1640-1688

Frederick William, the Great Elector, was born at Berlin in 1620 and succeeded his father, George William, in 1640. He married in 1646 Louisa Henrietta, daughter of Prince Frederick Henry of Orange and owed much to her devoted help. His second marriage in 1668 to Dorothea of Holstein-Glücksburg led to difficulties between Louisa Henrietta's son, the Electoral Prince Frederick, and his stepmother.

¹ Page 396.

I. The difficulties of Frederick William in 1640.**A. Domestic difficulties.**

He was "the possessor of little land and many claims." Strong differences divided Brandenburg, Prussia and Cleves; these formed separate provinces and only a native could hold office in each; provincial estates had strong local sympathies and resented central control; in Brandenburg the Emperor, and in Prussia the King of Poland, exercised strong influence. In Brandenburg trade and agriculture had been ruined by the war, and, although East Prussia was fairly prosperous, much of its trade had been secured by Dantzic, the leading port of West Prussia, which was still Polish.

B. Foreign relationships.

Sweden was hostile and held not only Pomerania, but part of Brandenburg. Poland jealously asserted her suzerainty over East Prussia. Schwartzenburg, the powerful minister of George William, continued an Imperialist policy; Frederick William, partly owing to the influence of Frederick Henry of Orange, was opposed to the Hapsburgs.

II. The Aggrandisement of Brandenburg.**A. Pomerania.****(1) Eastern Pomerania.****a. The Swedes evacuate Brandenburg.**

1641. Truce with Sweden, which was soon followed by the evacuation of Brandenburg by the Swedes and the withdrawal of Frederick William from the Thirty Years' War.

b. The Peace of Westphalia, 1648.

Brandenburg received the secularised bishoprics of Halberstadt, Minden and Camin with the reversion of Magdeburg and Eastern Pomerania.

EUROPEAN HISTORY

- c. 1653.** The Swedes evacuated Eastern Pomerania which Frederick William occupied.

“The territory of the Elector now stretched in a compact mass across North Germany from Halberstadt to the Baltic.”

(2) Western Pomerania.

- a. Fehrbellin and the conquest of Western Pomerania.**

1675. After a brilliant forced march Frederick William routed at Fehrbellin¹ the Swedes, who had assumed the offensive at the instigation of Louis XIV. The first great victory of the new Prussian army gained for Frederick William the title of the Great Elector. It was followed by the expulsion of the Swedes from Bremen and Verden in **1676**, the capture of Stettin in **1677** and Rügen and Stralsund in **1678**.

- b. East Prussia.**

1679. Failure of a Swedish expedition from Livonia against East Prussia in retaliation for the loss of Western Pomerania.

- c. Treaty of St. Germain en Laye, 1679.²**

1679. Frederick William was compelled to restore Western Pomerania and Stettin to Sweden.

B. East Prussia.

(1) Swedish suzerainty asserted.

1656. Failure of Frederick William's intrigues against Charles X of Sweden.³ Invasion of East Prussia by Charles X, who compelled Frederick William to renounce the suzerainty of Poland over East Prussia and acknowledge that of Sweden.

(2) Treaty of Labiau, 1656.

November, **1656.** Charles X, compelled by a new coalition against him to evacuate East Prussia, made

¹ Page 442.

² *Ibid.*

³ Page 429.

the Treaty of Labiau, recognising it as an independent possession of Brandenburg.

(3) Treaty of Wehlau, 1657.

1657. Frederick William, abandoning his alliance with Sweden, came to terms with John Casimir, King of Poland, who, by the Treaty of Wehlau, renounced all claim of suzerainty over East Prussia.

(4) Treaty of Oliva, 1660.

The independent sovereignty of Frederick William in East Prussia was acknowledged by Sweden and Poland.

C. Cleves.

*

1666. Frederick William made with Duke Philip William of Neuburg the Treaty of Cleves, by which Brandenburg finally secured Cleves, Mark and Ravenstein, and Neuburg Jülich and Berg.

D. Silesia.

Serious difficulties arose between Frederick William and the Emperor Leopold I with regard to parts of Silesia which the Elector hoped to secure as some compensation for the compulsory restoration of Western Pomerania to Sweden.

(1) Liegnitz.

1675. Death of the last Duke of Liegnitz. Frederick William claimed the reversion of his territories owing to an agreement made between the Elector Joachim II and Liegnitz in 1537. Leopold denied the validity of the agreement and seized Liegnitz.

(2) Jägerndorf.

1623. The Emperor Ferdinand II had confiscated Jägerndorf. Frederick William demanded its restoration from Leopold I.

(3) Settlement.

1686. Frederick William renounced his claims to Jägerndorf and Liegnitz, received the promise of the Schweibus Circle in Silesia and promised to help Leopold I against the Turks.

III. Foreign Policy.

A. Opposition to foreign influence.

Frederick William's "rule over Brandenburg-Prussia came to represent the principle of opposition to the occupation of German lands by the foreigner."¹

The great object of Frederick William was the aggrandisement of Brandenburg, and this necessarily involved opposition to Sweden, Poland and the dynastic policy of the Hapsburgs.

(1) Sweden.

Both Brandenburg and Sweden wanted Pomerania, which afforded to the former an outlet on the Baltic, to the latter an easy means of access into Germany.

Frederick William made peace in 1641 with Sweden in order to have leisure to strengthen his authority at home. After this had been accomplished he lost no opportunity of weakening Sweden; he joined Denmark and Poland against Sweden in 1655, was compelled to submit to Sweden in 1656, took advantage of a new coalition against Sweden to secure the favourable Treaty of Labiau in November, 1656, and within ten months deserted Sweden and joined Poland. But the acquisition in 1653 of Eastern Pomerania, in which Kolberg was the only important port, did not satisfy the Elector, who took advantage of his victory of Fehrbellin (1675) to secure Western Pomerania and its valuable ports. The restoration of this territory by the Treaty of St. Germain-en-Laye² was a serious blow to Frederick William.

(2) Poland.

1660. The Treaty of Oliva was followed by peace between Poland and Brandenburg.

(3) The Hapsburgs.

Frederick William resented the attempt of the Emperor to secure land formerly held by the Hohen-

¹ *Cambridge Modern History.*

² Page 460.

zollerns in Silesia, but assisted the Emperor in his attempt to prevent the Turks and French from securing German territory.

B. Frederick William and France.

(1) Opposition.

Frederick William opposed the attempt of France to obtain land in Germany and generally united with the Protestant Powers against her. He was closely allied with the House of Orange, the strong opponents of Louis XIV, and maintained friendly relations with England. In accordance with this general policy Frederick William in 1666 joined the Quadruple Alliance of the United Provinces, Brandenburg, Lüneburg and Denmark and took up arms against the Bishop of Münster, who had invaded Overijssel; ¹ in 1672 he made an alliance with the Emperor Leopold, who was alarmed at the prospect of French aggression on the Rhine; in 1674 he joined the Empire, Spain and the United Provinces in a new alliance against France, and owing to this Louis XIV incited Charles XI of Sweden to attack Brandenburg.

(2) Alliance.

But in August, 1679, Frederick William, probably resenting the failure of his allies to save him from the humiliating terms of the Treaty of St. Germain-en-Laye, made an alliance with France, promised free passage through his dominions for French troops, undertook to support the candidature of the Dauphin for the Imperial throne. His support enabled Louis XIV to make with Leopold the Treaty of Ratisbon in 1684 and led to strained relations with the Emperor.

(3) Opposition.

But, largely owing to his sympathy with the persecuted Huguenots, he reversed his policy. In 1685 he made an alliance with the United Provinces; in 1686

¹ Page 520.

he came to terms with the Emperor and his old enemy Sweden, which resented the seizure of Zweibrücken by Louis XIV ; he strongly approved of the League of Augsburg formed in 1686 to defend Germany from France. He was now recognised as a champion of Protestantism, and even the Protestant cantons of Switzerland sought his alliance.

IV. Domestic Policy.

Frederick William realised that his influence abroad would depend largely upon the power of his territorial dominions. He endeavoured therefore to establish personal government, to secure a strong army and to promote the prosperity of Brandenburg, which had been so devastated by the Thirty Years' War that its population had fallen more than fifty per cent, while Berlin was "little better than the centre of a desert."

A. The establishment of personal government.

(1) The weakening of the Estates.

Frederick William profited by the death of the powerful minister Schwartzburg in 1641 to initiate his own policy. He reorganised his Privy Council and compelled the Estates of Brandenburg and Cleves to acknowledge his sovereign authority. In East Prussia, where the Lutheran population resented the authority of their new Calvinistic Duke, he met with such opposition from towns and nobles that he gained his end only by force ; in 1662 he arrested the leader of the town party, and in 1672 executed Kalkstein, the leader of the nobles.

(2) Executive government.

Frederick separated the civil from the military administration, reorganised finances, took all patronage into his own hands ; he deprived the nobles of political power, but made them the head of an elaborate system of social distinctions.

But, although he gained for himself political leadership, local bodies continued to exercise considerable authority, and the rigid Prussian bureaucracy which ensured administrative uniformity was the work of later rulers. But of that system Frederick William laid the foundations.

(3) Military developments.

The army was reorganised and placed under the authority of a Minister of War nominated by the Elector. A standing army was established which by 1656 numbered 26,000 men, and a permanent excise granted by the towns was allocated to its maintenance. The support of this army helped Frederick William to establish his power at home and to strengthen his influence abroad.

B. Material prosperity.

Frederick William realised the urgent need of restoring prosperity to Brandenburg, and for this reason welcomed immigrants; his devotion to Protestantism led him specially to encourage the immigration of Dutch and Huguenots. The Dutch introduced new methods of dairy farming and agriculture; the Huguenots not only promoted the development of manufactures, especially of woollen goods, but supplied many professional men and soldiers. The Edict of Potsdam, 1685, offered the Huguenots "a sure and free refuge in all the lands and provinces of our dominions"; by 1687 about 20,000 Huguenot immigrants had come into the Elector's territories, and these rendered invaluable service to the land of their adoption. Commerce was promoted by the construction of canals, particularly the Frederick William Canal between the Elbe and the Oder. An attempt was made to establish a colonial empire, but the Brandenburg African Company, established in 1682, did not long survive the Great Elector who founded it.

V. General.

Frederick William was a great statesman who laid the foundations of the greatness of Prussia and made his dominions the leading state in Germany and an influential power in Europe. He made the personal authority of the Hohenzollerns the foundation of his country's greatness, but it is doubtful if constitutional government could have been established. To him is due the tendency towards bureaucracy and strong social distinctions which played an important part in the later history of Prussia.

He was a man of strong religious feelings, but, in spite of his own devotion to Calvinism, he maintained religious toleration; he allowed the Jews to settle in Brandenburg, gave Catholics freedom of worship and allowed men of all creeds to hold public office.

His impetuosity sometimes led to unwise action; his political methods were at times unscrupulous, and he was fond "of fishing in troubled waters." But his title of "The Great Elector" was well deserved.

[For references, see end of next note.]

FREDERICK I, KING IN PRUSSIA

The Great Elector died on May 9th, 1688, and was succeeded by his son, the Elector Frederick III.

I. The Elector Frederick III becomes King in Prussia.

The desire of Frederick III to become a King was increased by the accession to thrones of several of his contemporaries: William of Orange, Count of Nassau, became King of England in 1688; the Electoral Prince of Bavaria was recognised in 1699 as heir to the crown of Spain; the Elector Frederick Augustus of Saxony became King Augustus II of Poland in 1697.

A. Failure of the first attempt.

But in 1694 the Emperor Leopold I refused to elevate

the Electorate of Frederick III into a kingdom. Although the troops of Brandenburg rendered good service in the war of the League of Augsburg¹ (Frederick III captured Bonn in 1689 and in 1690 re-established the Allies after the defeat of the Dutch at Fleurus ; in 1695 Brandenburg troops helped to capture Namur), the Peace of Ryswick brought little advantage to the Elector.

B. The War of the Spanish Succession.

But the desire of Leopold I to secure the whole of the Spanish possessions on the death of Charles II, and the knowledge that his scheme would involve war with France, made him anxious to secure the help of the Elector, and on November 16th, 1700, he made with Frederick III the *Krontractat*, or Crown Treaty, by which the Emperor agreed to recognise Frederick as King in Prussia, which was not a part of the Empire, while Frederick promised to supply 8000 troops to support the Emperor against France, to support Austrian candidates in future Imperial elections and to support the policy of Austria in the Diet.

January 18th, 1701. Frederick III crowned himself at Königsberg. His title was recognised by the Allies and by France in the Peace of Utrecht. From 1701 Frederick's troops were termed the Royal Prussian Army and all parts of his dominions were regarded as Prussian provinces.

II. Foreign Policy.

Frederick continued his father's policy.

A. Opposition to France.

- (1) 1688. While William of Orange was in England Brandenburg troops, under Schomberg, garrisoned the United Provinces to check a French attack.
- (2) 1688-1697. War of the Peace of Augsburg (see above).
- (3) 1702-1713. The War of the Spanish Succession.

¹ Page 533.

Large Prussian forces amounting to 40,000 men rendered valuable service.

1703. The Prussians assisted Marlborough to secure control of the Lower Rhine by taking Rheinberg; they fought also at Blenheim, Turin, Ramillies, Oudenarde and Malplaquet.

B. Sweden.

Frederick took up an attitude of neutrality at the outbreak of the Great Northern War, and in **1707** made a "Perpetual Alliance" with Sweden. Even after Pultava, Frederick refused actively to join the new coalition against Sweden.¹ But he tried to use the opportunity by arranging with Russia for a Partition of Poland, and although his attempt was unsuccessful, his policy was destined to play an important part in future history.

[**1772.** First Partition of Poland between Austria, Prussia and Russia.

1793. Second Partition of Poland between Prussia and Russia.]

III. Domestic Policy.

Frederick I established a splendid court which added to the dignity of his throne, but proved so heavy a drain on his finances that he had to rely upon Dutch and English subsidies to meet the expenses of the war.

He patronised learning, founded the University of Halle in **1694**, an Academy of Arts and, with the assistance of Leibniz, an Academy of Science.

He favoured immigration, maintained religious toleration and under his rule the progress made under the Great Elector was continued.

References :

The Ascendancy of France (Wakeman), Rivingtons, chaps. VIII, XIII.

The Cambridge Modern History, Vol. V, chap. xxii.

¹ Page 448.

THE HISTORY OF RUSSIA TO 1682

I. The Beginning of Russia.

A. Early settlements.

Russia probably owes its name to the Roxolani, a Slavonic tribe.

862. Ruric, a Norman or Varangian chief, founded the "new city" of Novgorod. About the same time a settlement was established at Kieff. Thus the Slavs of Russia obtained political organisation and some measure of unity.

B. Introduction of Greek Christianity.

988. Vladimir the Great of Kieff became a Christian and married Anne, sister of the Byzantine Emperor Basil II. The Greek faith was established in Russia and a close ecclesiastical connection was formed with Byzantium.

C. The Tartars.

c. 1223. The Golden Horde of Mongolian Tartars overran the south of Russia.

1395. The invasion of Timur, or Tamberlaine, in **1395** led to the division of the Tartar Empire into the Khanates of Kazan, the Crimea and Astrakhan.

II. Moscow.

1147. Moscow founded by Dolgorouki. It was a military colony ; was plundered by the Tartars in **1383** and **1451**, but, in spite of these reverses, maintained its position as an outpost against the Tartars and as the centre of Russian civilisation.

A. Ivan III the Great, **1462-1505**, and Vassili, **1505-1533**.

(1) The weakening of the Tartar power.

1481. The last invasion of the Mongol Tartars, who were routed by Ivan III at Bielawisch.

Ivan III skilfully used the dissensions that arose between the Tartar Khanates to establish his southern border ; but, although he defeated the Khan of Kazan in 1487, he did not incorporate any Tartar territory in his dominions.

(2) Extension of territory in Russia.

Ivan III added to his dominions Novgorod in the north-west and Jaroslav in the north ; his successor, Vassili Ivanovitch (1505-1533), conquered Pskoff and Smolensk.

a. The conquest of Novgorod and Pskoff was followed by the abolition of the republican government of these towns and the suppression of the foreign trade which they had fostered.

b. The capture of Smolensk brought Moscow into rivalry with the neighbouring states of Lithuania and Poland, which had been united by the marriage, in 1386, of Hedvig, Queen of Poland and daughter of Lewis the Great of Hungary, to Jagello, Prince of Lithuania. Jagello accepted Christianity and was crowned King of Poland with the title of Ladislaus in 1387.¹

“At Vasili’s death the Muscovite Empire reached from Chernigoff to the White Sea, from the borders of Livonia to the river Kama.”

(3) Communication with the West.

The distance of Moscow from the states of Western Europe, the need of maintaining its position against the Tartars, the effect of Tartar influence had made Moscow Asiatic rather than European. Under Ivan III and Vassili relations were established with the West. Ivan III married Zoe, the niece of the last Roman Emperor, Constantine Palæologos ; he sent embassies to Venice, the Empire and Hungary ; he

¹ *Notes on European History*, Part I, page 353.

invited the Bolognese architect Alberti to Moscow. Vasili III continued his father's policy.

(4) The establishment of a Monarchy.

By establishing a strong monarchy independent of the people and the nobles, and supreme over the Church, Ivan the Great greatly strengthened Moscow and laid the foundation of the power of his grandson Ivan IV, the Terrible.

B. Ivan the Terrible, 1533-1584.

(1) The extension of territory.

a. The Tartars.

1552. Ivan IV conquered and annexed Kazan and, in **1554**, Astrakhan. He failed to conquer the Crimea.

b. Livonia.

1561. Ivan IV seized Livonia, but Stephen Báthory compelled him to relinquish it in **1582**.

c. Siberia.

The Russian power was extended beyond the Urals and the river Irtush.

Thus the first attempt of Russia to secure outlets on the Baltic and Black Seas failed; the divergence of interests between Poland and Russia became apparent; the extension of Russian power in Asia had begun.

(2) Internal policy.

During the minority of Ivan IV the nobles, or "boiars," who owned much of the land, had used the opportunity to promote their own interests. Ivan IV, a strong believer in absolute monarchy, greatly weakened the power of the boiars by establishing a new official nobility of service as distinct from the boiar nobility of birth, and by setting up a new administrative court endowed with vast estates of which the boiars were deprived. The old court,

attended by boiars and the old boiar Council of State, still continued ; but the new court, or *Oprichnina*, lowered their prestige and power and greatly strengthened the monarchy.

(3) Foreign relations.

The attempt of Ivan IV to improve the standard of civilisation in Russia by importing German engineers, mechanics and doctors was frustrated by the jealousy of Poland, but important relations were established with England.

1553. Richard Chancellor, sailing to find the North-East passage to China, was driven by storms into the White Sea, landed at Archangel and was welcomed by Ivan IV at Moscow.

1555. The English Muscovy Company was founded and did much to develop trade between England and Russia.

1557-1560. Anthony Jenkinson crossed the Caspian Sea and reached Bokhara.

C. Civil strife, 1605-1613.

(1) Boris Godunoff.

The death of Ivan the Terrible in **1584** was followed by a period of civil strife. He had killed his eldest son Ivan, in **1582**; his second, Feodor, was so weak that during his reign (**1584-1598**) his brother-in-law, Boris Godunoff, really ruled ; Ivan the Terrible's youngest son Dimitri was murdered in **1591**.

On the death of Feodor, Boris compelled Feodor's cousin Feodor Romanoff, or Philaret, to become a monk, and, having thus removed a possible rival, seized the throne, which he held until his death in **1605**.

(2) The false Dimitris.

A pretender, claiming to be Dimitri, supported by King Sigismund III of Poland, claimed the Russian throne. On the death of Boris he gained the support

of the army and the boiars and secured the throne, but was murdered in 1606 and a boiar, Vasili Shuiski, was elected Tsar. He was opposed by a second "Dimitri," who was supported by King Sigismund, and Shiuski was overthrown in 1610.

(3) Ladislaus of Poland.

1610. Ladislaus of Poland, son of King Sigismund, was elected Tsar. The Swedes, the enemies of Poland, therefore seized Novgorod. But the rule of a foreigner was unpopular, and Philaret's son, Michael Romanoff, was elected Tsar in 1613.

D. The first three Romanoffs, 1613-1682.

Michael Romanoff, 1613-1645; Alexis, 1645-1676; Feodor, 1676-1682.

(1) Sweden.

The efficient help of his father, Philaret, enabled the weak Michael Romanoff to keep his throne. By the Peace of Stolbova, 1617, Sweden restored Novgorod and recognised Michael as Tsar in return for the cession of Ingria and Carelia.

(2) Poland.

1634. Ladislaus, now King of Poland, renounced his claim to the throne of Russia by the Treaty of Polianovka. He received a large money payment and the town of Smolensk.

1654-1667. A series of wars with Poland ended in the Treaty of Andrusoff, by which Smolensk was restored to Alexis, who received Little Russia to the River Dnieper and the city of Kieff.

"The thirteen years' war with Poland first stamped Russia as a European power."

(3) Ecclesiastical questions.

a. Church and Crown.

Nikon, Patriarch of Moscow, tried to assert

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the superiority of the ecclesiastical authority over the secular. He was deprived of office and imprisoned in 1667, and the supremacy of the Crown over the Church was maintained.

b. The Raskol, or Great Schism.

The attempt of Nikon in 1666 and 1667 to correct errors which had crept into the Russian liturgy and ceremonial led to the *Raskol*, or secession of those who resented any changes. The *Raskol* continued to the present day and has acted as a conservative or reactionary force.

(4) The Boiars.

1681. The prestige of the boiars was greatly weakened by Feodor, who abolished the *miestnichestvo*, or family precedence, which had long made them a privileged order.

(5) Growth of foreign influence.

By the middle of the seventeenth century the presence at Moscow of British and Dutch merchants, of Scotch army officers, of foreign diplomatists, especially French, who were interested in Turkish and Polish questions, had done something to widen the narrow outlook of the Russians. The enlightened policy of two great Foreign Ministers, Nashchokin and Matvieeff, the latter of whom married a Scotch wife, favoured the introduction of Western customs and ideas. But the country was only partially civilised. The manners of Russian diplomatists aroused disgust in foreign courts ; very little provision was made for education, although Feodor founded an Academy at Moscow in which Slavonic, Greek and Latin were to be taught ; manufactures were undeveloped, commerce was limited ; drunkenness and falsehood were common to all classes. The Tsars tried to prevent their subjects from travelling abroad, and "the

country at large still seemed impregnably barricaded behind a Chinese wall of prejudice and conservatism." The work of Peter the Great was to break down this barricade.

Reference :

Cambridge Modern History, Vol. V, chap. xvi.

PETER THE GREAT, 1682-1725

I. The Life of Peter to the Capture of Azoff, 1696.

The Tsar Alexis had married as his second wife Natalia Naryskina, the adopted daughter of Matvieeff, and Peter their son was born in 1672. On the death of Peter's elder half-brother, the Tsar Feodor, the Naryskinas and the boiars proclaimed Peter as Tsar, to the exclusion of his younger half-brother the delicate Ivan (V). But the Streltsi, the military guards whom Ivan the Terrible had established, murdered the Naryskinas, slew Matvieeff in Peter's presence, proclaimed Ivan V and Peter as joint Tsars and the Princess Sophia, daughter of Alexis by his first wife, as Regent. She ruled the country, with the help of her lover Golitsin, from 1682-1689.

In January, 1689, Peter married his first wife Eudoxia Lopukhina, but soon separated from her.

September, 1689. Peter sent Sophia to a convent, imprisoned Golitsin, assumed the control of the government, although he preserved the nominal authority of Ivan, to whom he was strongly attached. But the actual work of government was carried on by others, and Peter spent his time in mechanical work and shipbuilding with intervals of dissipation.

1695. The Treaty of Andrusoff, 1667, had bound Russia to war against Turkey, and, in accordance with the treaty and in order to secure an outlet on the Black Sea, an expedition, in which Peter worked as a common

soldier, was sent against Azoff. The expedition was a complete failure. Peter determined to secure success, personally supervised the construction of a fleet and shared all the hardships of the workmen. Patrick Gordon, a Scotch engineer, directed the siege works.

July 29th, 1696. Azoff surrendered. This was the first victory gained by Russians over Turks and is the turning-point in Peter's life. The death of his brother Ivan in 1696 left him sole Tsar, and henceforth he ruled absolutely.

II. The Extension of Russian Territory.

(The development of Russia necessitated free intercourse with Western Europe, and for this an outlet on the Baltic was essential.) Archangel, on the White Sea, was frozen up for much of the year, and, although the possession of Azoff and the newly fortified port of Taganrog at the head of the Gulf of Azoff ensured access to the Black Sea, the Turks, who commanded the Bosphorus, could always prevent Russian ships from entering the Mediterranean.

A. Sweden.

Peter took full advantage of the Great Northern War¹ and by the Treaty of Nystädt, 1721, secured Ingria, Esthonia, Livonia and part of Carelia, but agreed to restore Finland to Sweden.

1724. Russia and Sweden made an alliance by the Treaty of Stockholm, each promising to help the other with naval and military forces in time of need.

B. Turkey.

1700. Peter, desiring to use all his forces against Sweden, concluded peace with the Turks. He kept his conquests in the Azoff territory.

1712. After the surrender of the Russians on the Pruth² Peter agreed to restore Azoff to Turkey.

¹ For details see page 444.

² Page 449.

1713. The Peace of Adrianople settled for a time all differences between Russia and Turkey. But their interests were opposed, and this opposition gave rise to the Eastern Question which has long continued to disturb the peace of Europe.

C. The Caspian.

1722. After several failures Peter secured Baku, Derbent and some of the Caspian Provinces and compelled Persia to acknowledge his sovereignty over these places. Turkey strongly objected to this extension of Russian power, and by the Treaty of Constantinople, **1724**, the territories adjoining the Caspian were divided between Russia, Persia and Turkey.

D. England and France.

France, the friend of Sweden, and the Maritime Powers viewed with apprehension the extension of Russian power in the Baltic; but the War of the Spanish Succession prevented them from actively intervening.

1706. Peter promised to join the Grand Alliance if England would bring about a peace between Russia and Sweden, but England refused to intervene.

1707. Failure of Peter's attempt to secure the intervention of France.

1716. Although England had joined Russia in the Third Coalition against Sweden in **1715**,¹ Peter's action in regard to Mecklenburg² and his sympathy with the Old Pretender alienated George I. England came to terms with Sweden and tried unsuccessfully to persuade Peter to mitigate his demands for Swedish territory.

After the death of Louis XIV in **1715** better relations were established with France, although Peter failed to secure the marriage of his daughter Elizabeth with Louis XV and the attempt of Fleury to reconcile

¹ Page 450.

² Page 451.

England and Russia proved unsuccessful. Prussia and the United Provinces recognised Peter's Imperial title ; an alliance was concluded between Russia and Sweden in 1724, and Peter, free from danger in the West, devoted the rest of his reign to extending Russian power in the East and to internal reform.

III. Internal Reform.

Peter determined to civilise Russia by introducing Western customs and methods, and so making Russia independent of foreign aid. He depended largely upon the co-operation of foreigners, to whom he offered every inducement to settle in Russia.

A. Western Travel.

1696. Fifty Russian youths were sent to study ship-building, fortifications and languages in England, Holland and Venice.

1697-1698. Peter, travelling under the name of "Peter Michailoff," studied shipbuilding at Saardam, where he lived in two rooms, and Deptford, where he occupied Evelyn's house. He worked in the yards, dressed and lived as a workman. He hired six hundred Dutch ship-builders, whom he sent to Archangel. He cancelled his proposed visit to Venice owing to the revolt of the Streltsi.¹

B. Western manners.

Peter forbade Russians to wear beards and, in 1698, himself cut off the beards of some of the leading nobles.

1700. Russians were ordered to discard their flowing garments and to wear short jackets and hose. The police were ordered to cut to the knees the long coats of those who persisted in wearing them. Peter introduced Western dances, and tried by concerts, balls and theatrical representations to improve the manners of his subjects.

¹ Page 480.

C. Education.

Peter founded schools, a hospital and medical college, and, in 1724, an Academy of Sciences ; secured the issue of cheap books ; simplified the Russian alphabet, " the first step towards the composition of the modern Russian written language " ; in 1714 professors were sent around the country to teach the children of the gentry arithmetic ; no nobleman was to be allowed to marry unless he was educated.

D. Industry.

Peter developed the mineral resources of Russia, especially silver, iron and copper ; supported the establishment of ironworks ; ensured the development of the cloth and leather trades ; introduced new methods of agriculture, e.g. ordered that scythes should be used instead of sickles for cutting corn ; protected serfs from oppression by their masters. The establishment of St. Petersburg, which was free from the conservative traditions of Moscow, the acquisition of the Baltic coast and of the port of Azoff gave a great impetus to foreign trade.

E. Government.

(1) Peter overthrew any institutions which might challenge his absolute authority.

1698. He replaced the Streltsi by a professional army dependent on the Crown, trained and organised on Western methods, and often commanded by foreigners, of whom the best known was Patrick Gordon.

1700. He strengthened his authority over the Church by abolishing the Patriarchate and, later, establishing a Spiritual Department, the origin of the Holy Governing Synod, over which he exercised direct control.

1711. He abolished the Council of the Boiars.

(2) Constructive policy.

a. Central.

1711. The Administrative Senate was appointed

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to carry out the details of administration. (The work of the State was divided among a number of departments or Colleges.' A system of espionage was instituted to stop peculation and lower officials were encouraged to give information against their superiors.

b. Local.

The unwieldy areas of local government were divided into smaller districts each with its own president and council. Town councils were appointed, and the citizens were organised into three guilds according to their occupation.

F. The Church.

The Spiritual Department, established in 1721, was the origin of the famous Holy Synod. It was specially charged with the duty of publishing literature which would promote the spread of religion, and to present for the Tsar's nomination suitable candidates for bishoprics. Bishops were ordered to select only suitable candidates for ordination. Everyone was to attend church on Sundays and Holy days.

But Peter, while supporting the orthodox Church, treated dissenters with toleration.

IV. Opposition.

The Tsar's ruthless measures of reform provoked strong opposition, but owing to fear of his vengeance outbreaks were few. Most of the clergy, the old boiar nobility, all who resented the great influx of foreigners that Peter had encouraged, formed a discontented reactionary party.

A. The Streltsi, 1698.

The Streltsi, a noble Pretorian Guard, strongly resented the new policy. They wished to expel all foreigners and to make the Tsarevitch Alexis Tsar

instead of Peter. They attacked Moscow on June 17th, **1698**. They were very easily suppressed by foreign mercenaries under Patrick Gordon. On Peter's return the Streltsi were exterminated with the utmost barbarity. At least a thousand were executed, some by Peter himself.

B. Astrakhan.

1706. A serious rebellion at Astrakhan, led by former members of the Streltsi, was suppressed by Sheremetieff at the head of a regular army.

C. The Tsarevitch Alexis.

Alexis had been carefully educated in order to enable him to take an active part in furthering his father's schemes of reform. But he was an unpractical dreamer, devoted to study and quite unable to fall in with his father's plans, of which he strongly disapproved. He was regarded as the head of the opposition to Peter's reforms. In **1716** he fled to Naples, but was induced to return to Russia by Peter's promise "that, if Alexis came back, he should not be punished in the least but cherished as a son." On his return he was imprisoned and so cruelly tortured that he died in **1718**.

V. General.

A. The creator of Modern Russia.

Peter created modern Russia. By the application of Western methods he revolutionised the army, industry, education and social life, and made Russia far stronger and more prosperous. He saw that the possession of an outlet on the Baltic was an essential condition of the development of Russia, and the building of St. Petersburg typified the destruction of the old traditions which had centred round Moscow.

He was enabled to carry out his domestic reforms because his monarchy was absolute and because his

successful foreign policy not only enlarged his frontiers, but gave him external security. The Great Northern War afforded him an opportunity of training the backward Russians and of increasing the material resources of his poor country.

“The true power and greatness of Peter lay in the fact that, grand as were his projects, they were all within his reach, and were all realised, so as to affect Europe thenceforward for ever.”¹

B. Personal qualities.

His extraordinary energy, his great driving power, his wide interests, his unflinching courage, were some of the causes of success. Failure, as at Azoff in 1695 and Narva in 1700, only inspired him to new and successful effort.

In his better moments he was cheerful and generous. To faithful servants he proved a true friend; his freedom from affectation and his keen intellect made him a delightful companion.

He was passionate, drunken and dissolute. He was ruthless and bloodthirsty and gloated over the tortures he inflicted on the Streltsi. He remorselessly swept out of his path all opponents, imprisoning his first wife Eudoxia and his sister Sophia and causing the death of Alexis. “To incur his suspicion was torture, to thwart his will was death.”²

References :

Cambridge Modern History, Vol. V, chap. xvii.

The Ascendancy of France (Wakeman), Rivingtons, chap. xiv.

The Story of the Nations. Russia (Morfill), Fisher Unwin.

¹ Dean Kitchin.

² Wakeman.

SECTION XVI
EASTERN EUROPE

THE EXTENSION OF THE TURKISH EMPIRE

I. The Foundation of the Turkish Empire.

A. The invasion of Europe.

c. **1346**. The Ottoman Turks under Orchan took advantage of disputes among the Greeks to invade Europe and seized Gallipoli.

1361. They overran Thrace and took Adrianople. The conquest of Roumelia, Bulgaria and Macedonia followed.

1396. The defeat of Sigismund of Hungary at Nicopolis.

B. Mohammed II, 1451-1481.

(1) Extension of territory.

1453. Constantinople was captured by Mohammed II, who between **1455** and **1464** added Serbia, the Morea, Wallachia, Bosnia, Herzegovina and Montenegro to his dominions.

The Knights of Rhodes in the Levant, John Hunyadi and Mathias Corvinus in Hungary, and Scanderbeg, "the athlete of Christendom," in Albania checked the Turkish advance.

1456. John Hunyadi saved Belgrade.

(2) The Venetians.

The Venetians, anxious to preserve their commerce, made a treaty with Mohammed II in **1454**; but in **1463** the grave danger from the Turks and the entreaties of Pope Pius II¹ led them to make war on Mohammed. Their ally Scanderbeg died in **1467**; the Turks captured Negropont, their most valuable station, in **1470**; they were utterly routed and, by the Treaty of Constantinople in **1479**, gave up Lemnos

¹ *Notes on European History*, Part I, page 332.

and their possessions in Albania and paid a large indemnity.

1480. Mohammed invaded Italy and took Otranto, but on his death in **1481** Otranto was restored and the Turks left Italy.

C. Causes of the Turkish success.

(1) The disunion of Christendom.

The nations of Europe were engaged in forming national monarchies out of feudal states and were busily engaged about their own affairs. There was no power strong enough to unite Christendom against the Turks, and the attempt Pius II made only showed that the Papacy could no longer inspire a Crusade. Humanism had replaced the religious fervour which had inspired the early Crusades. The Empire had become a phantom and the Emperor was busily engaged in promoting the territorial interests of his own family. Opposition to the Turks was mainly local and not European; the Austrians, Hungarians and Slavs of the Danube defended Eastern Europe, with some help from France and Germany and, at Nicopolis, Burgundy. But local opposition was sometimes weakened—e.g. Mathias Corvinus was obliged to use in wars against Bohemia and Austria forces which might have been employed against the Turks.

(2) The ability of the early Sultans.

The activity and ability of the early Ottoman Sultans, and especially Murad¹ I (1359–1389), Bajazet I (1389–1402) and Mohammed II (1451–1481), not only rapidly extended Turkish dominions, but made the monarchy so powerful that it could unite all those dominions in obedience to its will.

(3) The Janissaries.

The Janissaries, organised by Orcan about 1330 and reorganised by Murad I about 1362, became a most

¹ Or Amurath.

efficient fighting force. They were largely recruited from the Christian children who were sent as tribute to the Turks.

II. Suleiman I, The Magnificent, 1520–1566.

Selim I (1512–1520) extended his authority over the Archipelago, overran Syria, conquered Egypt.

Under Selim's son, Suleiman I, the Turkish Empire reached the height of its greatness. It extended from Buda on the Danube to Bussora on the Euphrates, from Kamenietz on the Polish frontier and Azoff to Aden on the extreme south. It included Asia Minor and much of the northern coast of Africa. "The Ottoman sultan . . . was the master of many kingdoms, the ruler of three continents and the lord of two seas."

A. The extension of the Turkish Empire.

August, 1521. Suleiman captured Belgrade.

December, 1522. Suleiman captured Rhodes, which had long been held as an outpost of Christendom by the Knights Hospitallers, who withdrew to Malta, where, in 1565, they successfully beat off a strong Turkish attack.

(1) Hungary.

August 28th, 1526. Suleiman routed and killed King Lewis of Hungary at Mohacz and captured Buda on September 10th. Although Ferdinand of Austria secured the crown of Hungary, his power was weakened by the opposition of John Zapoyla.

Although Suleiman's progress was checked in October, 1529, by a crushing defeat under the walls of Vienna, in 1533 Ferdinand made with Suleiman the first treaty concluded between Austria and Turkey and acknowledged the right of Suleiman to sanction any arrangements about Hungary.

1537. The struggle for Hungary between Turkey and Austria was renewed, and in 1537 Suleiman routed Ferdinand at Essek.

1541. Suleiman again invaded Hungary, nominally to

support the infant son of John Zapoyla, who died in **1540**, against Ferdinand. Most of the country became a Turkish province administered by a Turkish pasha at Buda.

1562. Suleiman compelled Ferdinand to recognise Zapoyla's son as lord of Transylvania.

(2) Venice.

1540. Suleiman drove the Venetians from the last towns they held in the Morea and forced them to surrender much of Dalmatia and to allow the Turks to retain Skyros, Patmos and other Ægean islands which Barbarossa had taken.

B. Alliance with France.

The struggle between the Hapsburgs and Valois was now at its height, and Francis I was anxious to secure all possible help against Charles V. Francis I had urged Suleiman to attack Vienna in **1529**. In **1535** he made an alliance with Suleiman which secured for France valuable commercial privileges in the Levant and provided that Francis should attack the Milanese while Suleiman's powerful fleet ravaged the coast of Naples.

The alliance between France and Turkey was regarded by contemporary Europeans as an alliance between civilisation and barbarism. But Western nations were guilty of acts as barbarous as those of the Turks, and Suleiman treated his Christian subjects far more mercifully than Charles V treated heretics.

1535. Barbarossa, commander-in-chief of the Turkish Navy, who had seized Algiers and Tunis and raided Italy in the previous year, was routed by Charles V, who captured Tunis.

1541. Barbarossa defeated an expedition Charles V had sent to Algiers, and the French and Turks secured the command of the Mediterranean.

1543. A French army and the Turkish fleet, which had ravaged the coasts of Italy, captured the town, but not the castle of Nice. This was the last time the Turks actively co-operated with the French.

[The French alliance with Turkey was a part of the general policy of France to conclude alliances which would menace Austria from the east. The policy explains the alliances made by France with Hungary and Poland.]

C. Suleiman the Magnificent.

Suleiman was a great soldier ; he reorganised and strengthened the army, conducted thirteen campaigns in person and made Turkey an essentially military state. He conquered much territory in Europe and extended his eastern frontier to the Euphrates by taking Bagdad in 1534.

He was a devout Mohammedan and issued a new course of study for the Ulemas or expounders of the Koran. He allowed his Christian subjects religious toleration, and the Greek Christians preferred his rule to that of the Emperor. The Christians had to pay heavy taxes and to supply one-tenth of their sons to serve in the Turkish army ; but they received fair treatment in the law courts, and Suleiman's legislation won for him the nickname of the " Lawgiver."

He adorned Constantinople by building six new mosques ; he built bridges and aqueducts and improved communication by constructing new roads in different parts of the Empire.

III. The Decline of Turkey, 1566-1656.

The Turks, under good leadership, had proved themselves successful conquerors. But they could not assimilate the lands they had conquered ; they lacked the power of organising and governing conquered territories. " To the larger part of the Turkish dominions in Europe conquest chiefly meant the imposition of a new governing class and of a new dominant religion."¹ The only bond that connected Turkey with her new possessions was conquest and military occupation. The

¹ Wakeman

decline of the military power of Turkey necessarily involved the loss of much territory.

Signs of decline appeared even in the reign of Suleiman the Magnificent, the cost of whose wars had greatly impoverished Turkey. The successful defence of Malta in 1565, the failure of Suleiman to capture Szigeth in Hungary in 1566, show that the Turks had lost some of their fighting power.

A. Causes of decline.

(1) The degeneration of the Sultans.

The only bond of union in the heterogeneous Turkish Empire was the authority of their ruler, who as Sultan was head of the State, as Caliph of the Mohammedan religion. The growth of Turkey had been due to the energy and ability of the earlier sultans ; its decline was mainly caused by the depravity and incompetence of the successors of Suleiman the Magnificent. Selim II (1566-1574) was nicknamed " the Sot " ; Murad IV died, after a drinking bout, in 1640 ; Ibrahim I was murdered in 1649 ; the women of their households weakened the Empire by political intrigue ; the government fell into the hands of ministers who were hopelessly corrupt ; the sultans no longer led their armies ; their Christian subjects, hitherto treated leniently, were cruelly oppressed.

(2) The Janissaries.

The rigid discipline which had been imposed on the Janissaries was relaxed ; they were allowed to marry and became a military caste ; every new Emperor on election was compelled to win their favour by heavy bribes. The tribute of children was no longer exacted, and thus the Janissaries lost a valuable means of recruiting.

B. Political conditions.

The Danube was the chief centre of interest.

The Emperors ruled Austria, were Kings of Hungary

and Croatia and claimed the overlordship of Transylvania. Vienna was endangered by the presence of the Turks at Buda, and the safety of Austria necessitated the expulsion of the Turks from the valleys of the Upper Danube and Save. But until 1593 a precarious peace, disturbed by frontier raids, was maintained.

C. Peace.

1567. Maximilian made a truce with Selim the Sot, and this was followed by many years of peace.

1576-1590. Murad III was at war with Persia and was thus diverted from warfare on the Danube.

D. War, 1570-1656.

(1) Against the Emperor.

1593. War broke out between Austria and Turkey. The Turkish provinces of Moldavia and Wallachia revolted, and the Catholic Prince Sigismund of Transylvania renounced his allegiance to the Sultan and declared for Austria, although Sigismund's Protestant subjects, who feared the Turks less than the Jesuits, favoured the Turkish cause.

1593. The Turks were routed at Sissek in June, and the Pasha of Buda was defeated in November.

1594. Failure of the Archduke Mathias to capture Gran.

1596. Mahomet III routed the Imperialists at Keresztes, but the war languished, partly because war between the Sultan and the Shah of Persia was renewed in 1603.

1605. Stephen Bocskai, who claimed to be Prince of Transylvania and King of Hungary, made an alliance with the Turks who acknowledged his claims. In 1606 he became reconciled with the Emperor, renounced his claim to Hungary, but was allowed to keep Transylvania.

1606. The Peace of Sitvatorok was made between the Sultan and the Emperor. The Sultan, who had previously addressed the Emperor as "King of Vienna," recognised Rudolf II's Imperial title and abandoned all tribute hitherto paid by Austria on consideration of a single payment of 200,000 florins by the Emperor.

(2) Peace with Austria.

The outbreak of the Thirty Years' War prevented Austria from attacking the Turks; the anarchy which had arisen owing to bad government at Constantinople prevented the Turks from taking advantage of the Thirty Years' War to attack Austria.

(3) War in the Mediterranean from 1570–1656.

The attempts of the Turks to extend their authority in the Mediterranean led to wars with Venice and Spain.

a. The capture of Cyprus.

(1) The first attack.

1570. When the Turks attacked Cyprus the small Venetian garrison held out in Nikosia and Famagusta. The former was taken in **1570**, the latter in **1571**.

May, **1571**. Pope Pius V, alarmed by the success of the Turks in Cyprus and indignant at the gross cruelty with which they treated their prisoners, formed the Holy League of the Papacy, Venice and Spain to resist the Turks.

Mohammed Sokolli, the Vizir of Selim the Sot, welcomed the opportunity of fighting when Philip II was at war with the Moors and the Netherlands; the Emperor was at variance with some of the German princes; France was friendly to Turkey, and Elizabeth of England opposed to Spain.

(2) The Battle of Lepanto, **1571**.

October 7th, **1571**. Don John of Austria, half-brother of Philip II, commanding the united fleets of the League, utterly routed the Turks in the Bay of Lepanto; 8000 Turks were slain, 7000 made prisoners and 10,000 Christian galley slaves released. Fifty Turkish galleys were destroyed; but the treachery of the Venetian Gianandrea Doria allowed forty Turkish galleys to escape.

The Battle of Lepanto "set for all time the

limits of the Turkish rule in the Mediterranean," but bitter quarrels between the Venetians and Spaniards prevented any attempt to save Cyprus and nullified further operations against the Turks. On the death of Pius V in May, 1572, the Holy League came to an end.

Sokolli reorganised the Turkish fleet with such success that in 1574 two hundred and fifty Turkish ships recaptured Tunis, which had recently been taken by Don John.

(3) Treaty between Venice and Turkey, 1573.

The re-establishment of the Turkish fleet and a commercial crisis in Venice compelled the Venetians to agree to a treaty in March, 1573, by which they ceded Cyprus to Turkey and paid a heavy war indemnity.

b. The attack on Crete.

The Venetians and the Knights of Malta had repeatedly attacked the Turks, who were weakened by gross misgovernment in Constantinople from 1603-1656.

1645. The Sultan Ibrahim I, in revenge, sent an expedition to Crete which captured Canea.

1648-1669. The siege of Candia.

The Venetians tried to raise the siege but failed, although they defeated the Turks in the Aegean in 1649, the Turks were weakened by the minority of Mohammed IV (1649-1687) and a revolt in Asia Minor, and in 1656 the Venetian admiral Mocenigo routed the Turks in the Dardanelles, threatened Constantinople and took Lemnos and Tenedos. Turkey seemed doomed to destruction.

References :

The Ascendancy of France (Wakeman), Rivingtons, chap. XII.
Cambridge Modern History, Vol. III, chap. iv.

Decline and Fall (Gibbon), Vol. VII, chaps. LXIV, LXV, LXVI, LXVII, LXVIII.

EASTERN EUROPE FROM 1656 TO 1718

The leading feature in the history of Eastern Europe in the latter half of the seventeenth century was the struggle between Austria and Turkey for the valley of the Danube.

I. General Conditions.

A. Turkey.

In 1656 the mother of the youthful Sultan Mohammed IV appointed Mohammed Kuprili, an Albanian, seventy years old, as Grand Vizier with absolute power. He restored discipline among the Janissaries, put down disorder in Constantinople, resolved to restore the old Mohammedan traditions and to make no alliances with Western kings.

B. Austria.

Austria had long proved the chief barrier to the Turkish advance, and the recognition of this fact had helped to ensure the election of Hapsburgs to the Imperial throne. Now, relieved from some of her difficulties by the end of the Thirty Years' War, she was anxious to recover the Danube valley and to re-establish her authority over Hungary and Transylvania. But the rivalry of France was destined gravely to hamper the Emperor Leopold I (1658-1705) in his struggle with Turkey; while difficulties arose owing to the diverse interests of the Hapsburg dominions, which were united only by recognition of a common ruler. The Turks held much of Hungary, and Transylvania had succeeded in throwing off its subjection to Hungary. Many of the Protestant subjects of the Hapsburgs preferred the rule of the tolerant Turks to the rule of the Hapsburgs, who strongly supported the Catholic cause.

C. Poland.¹

Poland, in which the turbulence of the nobles rendered stable government difficult, became an ally of France, which hoped to use her to check Austria.

1669. Failure of Louis XIV to ensure the election of the Duc de Condé as King of Poland.

D. Transylvania.

George Ragotsky II, Prince of Transylvania, was under the suzerainty of Turkey. To strengthen his position, and perhaps in the hope of gaining the throne of Poland, he had joined Charles X of Sweden in invading Poland in **1656**; but when war with Denmark compelled Charles to leave Poland, Ragotsky had been driven out of Poland.

II. Mohammed Kiuprili (d. 1661).

Mohammed Kiuprili having restored order in Turkey gained important successes.

1657. Defeat and expulsion of the Venetian fleet from the Dardanelles; the Turks retook Lemnos and Tenedos.

1659. The alliance with France was broken off.

1660. Kiuprili deposed Ragotsky on the ground that by invading Poland he had disregarded his obligations to the Sultan. Ragotsky refused to submit. The Turks invaded Transylvania, and Ragotsky was slain at Grosswarden in **1660**.

The siege of Candia ² was continued.

III. Achmet Kiuprili, 1661-1676.**A. Transylvania and Hungary.****(1) Causes of War.**

1661. Kemenyi, the successor of Ragotski, was slain by the Turks. For a time Achmet seemed inclined to a more peaceful policy, but Leopold I refused to recognise Apaffy, the Turkish nominee, as Prince of Tran-

¹ For the earlier history of Poland, see page 433.

² Page 493.

sylvania. A congress between the Austrians and Turks at Temesvar proved unsuccessful.

(2) War with Austria, 1663-1664.

1663. Achmet, taking advantage of the folly of the Austrians, who had neglected to maintain their military strength, overran Transylvania, where he established Apaffy as Prince, and invaded Hungary, where, in September, he took Neuhäusen.

1664. The Austrian general Montecuculi, assisted by French reinforcements sent by Louis XIV, routed the Turks at St. Gothard, on the Raab, on August 1st,

1664. The battle showed that the Turks had lost their military superiority.

(3) The Treaty of Vasvar, 1664.

On August 10th Leopold made the Treaty of Vasvar by which, in spite of the recent victory, he allowed the Turks to keep their conquests, including Neuhäusen and Grosswardein, recognised Apaffy as Prince of Transylvania and paid 200,000 florins, which the Turks asserted were tribute to the Sultan.

Strong feeling in Hungary against the Emperor for concluding a treaty on such terms.

B. Crete.

1669. Candia, gallantly defended by the Venetian Francesco Morosini, capitulated to the Turks, who thus gained practically all of Crete. "The last conquest Islam has made from Christianity."

C. Poland.

(1) The Cossack revolt.

1671. The Cossacks of the Ukraine, who had remained in subjection to Poland by the Treaty of Andrusoff,¹ had rebelled, but had been crushed by John Sobieski in 1670. They appealed for aid to the Turks, who declared war on Poland.

¹ Page 434.

(2) The Treaty of Buczacz, 1672.

1672. The Turks captured Kaminić, which commanded Podolia. The incompetent Polish King Michael Wiesznowieski (1669–1673) surrendered Podolia and the Ukraine to Turkey by the Treaty of Buczacz.

(3) John Sobieski.

1673. The Polish Diet repudiated the Treaty of Buczacz. John Sobieski defeated the Turks at Choczim.

1674. On the death of Michael, John Sobieski was elected King of Poland. He had married a French wife; his election, which was soon followed by an alliance between France and Poland, strengthened French influence.

1675. Sobieski defeated the Turks at Lemburg.

1676. By the Peace of Zurawno the Sultan received part of Podolia and the Ukraine. Death of Achmet Kiuprili.

IV. The Siege of Vienna, 1683.

Kara Mustafa, Grand Vizier from 1676–1683, resolved to make a direct attack on Vienna. In 1676 he made overtures to Louis XIV for a joint war on the Emperor, and the favourable terms the Turks received at Zurawno were partly due to the influence of Louis XIV.

A. Hungary.

(1) The first rising, 1666–1671.

1666. The Hungarian nobles rose in revolt against the Emperor. *They failed to secure the help of Sobieski; Louis XIV was unable to send help, as he was negotiating with Leopold I for the partition of the Spanish Empire;*¹ Achmet Kiuprili was busy in Crete.

1671. The rebels, unable to secure help, were crushed and a reign of terror, in which the Protestants were cruelly persecuted, was set up in Hungary.

¹ Page 536.

(2) The second rising.

Rebellion continued in Hungary. Louis XIV, finding that his negotiations with Leopold I for the partition of the Spanish Empire had failed, induced King John Sobieski in 1675 to promise to help the Hungarians. Kara Mustafa, who was at war with Russia (1678-1682), could send no help, and, greatly to the disgust of Louis XIV, John Sobieski, who did not care to help Protestant rebels, promised Leopold I to give no help to the Hungarians.

1681. Leopold I, realising the danger from the hostility of France, made a promise to the Hungarian leader Emeric Tökölyi to consult the Hungarian Diet on Hungarian business and to grant toleration to Protestants in Hungary. But Tökölyi, distrusting these promises, offered the suzerainty of Hungary to Turkey in 1682.

B. Russia.

1682. Turkey made peace with Russia and recognised the Russian claims to the Ukraine and Kieff.

C. France.

1681. Louis XIV, taking advantage of Leopold's difficulties, seized Strasburg and Casale. Formation of the League of Augsburg,¹ which Leopold joined in 1682 in order to resist further French aggression.

D. Vienna, 1683.

Kara Mustafa, relying on Louis XIV to keep Leopold I occupied in the West and assured of the alliance of Russia, now asserted the Turkish suzerainty over Hungary, collected an army at Adrianople and invaded Austria in the spring of 1683 with an army which soon numbered 250,000 men.

Leopold I sought help from all quarters, but Louis XIV

¹ Page 536.

was the ally of Turkey; the Dutch republicans prevented William of Orange from sending help to Austria; Frederick William of Brandenburg was at variance with Leopold about Silesia. But Pope Innocent XI (1676-1689) sent money, Venice promised aid; on March 31st, 1683, John Sobieski made a treaty with Leopold and promised to supply 30,000 men.

Charles of Lorraine, Leopold's brother-in-law and the commander of the Imperial forces, evacuated Hungary, left Starhemberg to defend Vienna and marched down the Danube to meet Sobieski; the Emperor and Court fled from Vienna to Passau on July 7th. Kara Mustafa lost some days owing to failure to advance rapidly, reached Vienna on July 9th and completed the investment of the city by July 14th. An immediate attack would have enabled him to take Vienna, but he foolishly delayed, and the city, heroically defended by Starhemberg, held out for two months, thus enabling Sobieski and Lorraine to join forces.

September 12th, 1683. John Sobieski, commanding the Imperial forces and helped by Lorraine and the Electors John George of Saxony and Maximilian Emmanuel of Bavaria, utterly routed the Turks under the walls of Vienna and captured their vast camp; Kara Mustafa fled to Belgrade.

Although Sobieski was coldly received by Leopold I, he and Lorraine pursued the Turks, routed them at Parkany on October 9th, captured Gran on October 27th—the first time “an actual possession of the Turks had been regained by a Christian force.”

1683. Kara Mustafa was executed at Belgrade for his failure.

V. From the Relief of Vienna to the Peace of Carlowitz, 1683-1699.

A. The Holy War, 1684-1699.

(1) The Holy League, 1684.

Leopold I, John Sobieski and Venice, with the

strong approval of the Pope, made an offensive alliance against Turkey.

[1684. The Turkish war compelled Leopold to agree to the Truce of Ratisbon,¹ by which Louis XIV kept the territory allotted to him by the Chambers of Reunion.]

(2) The Conquest of Hungary.

1685. Charles of Lorraine reconquered most of Turkish Hungary.

1686. Lorraine captured Buda.

1687. Lorraine routed the Turks at Mohacz² and secured Croatia and Slavonia.

In October a Diet at Pressburg recognised the Hapsburgs as hereditary Kings of Hungary and gave up the right of insurrection which the Hungarians had asserted for centuries. Leopold's young son Joseph was crowned King of Hungary on December 9th, 1687.

(3) The Conquest of Transylvania.

1688. Lorraine conquered Transylvania and took Belgrade.

(4) The Venetians.

1684. Francesco Morosini, "the Peloponnesian," took Santa Maura and other places in Dalmatia.

1685-1686. Morosini conquered the Morea.

1687. Morosini took Corinth in August and Athens in September. Venetian bombs wrecked the Propylæa and Parthenon.

(5) Mustafa Kiuprili, 1688-1691.

Suleiman II (1687-1691), who owed his throne to a mutiny provoked by the defeat of Mohacz, appointed Mustafa Kiuprili, brother of Achmet, Grand Vizier. He reorganised the Turkish army and recovered some ground. Louis XIV, concerned at the defeat of his allies the Turks, declared war on the Empire and the

¹ Page 534.

² Sometimes called the Battle of Harkany.

war of the League of Augsburg began. Spain and the Maritime Powers, wishing to use all the forces of the Allies against Louis XIV, in vain tried to make peace between Austria and Turkey.

1688. Failure of a Venetian force to capture Negropont.

1689. Russia joined the Imperialists against the Turks.

1690. Mustafa Kiuprili recaptured Widdin, Nisch and Belgrade.

1691. He invaded Hungary, but was defeated and slain by the Margrave of Baden at Szelankemen in August. The Imperial forces now conquered Transylvania, and in December the Transylvanian Estates acknowledged the suzerainty of the Hapsburgs.

(6) The last years of the War.

The death of Mustafa Kiuprili was a severe blow to the Turks. The Sultan Mustafa II (1695-1703) led his army in person, recovered Chios from the Venetians in 1696 and gained some successes in Hungary.

1696. Death of John Sobieski. The election of Frederick Augustus of Saxony as King of Poland weakened French influence and led to the appointment of Prince Eugene of Savoy as General of the Imperialist army.

1696. Peter the Great took Azoff.

1697. Mustafa II, trying to advance against Transylvania, was routed by Eugene at Zenta.

(7) The Peace of Carlowitz, 1699.

a. Austria secured all Hungary except the Banat of Temesvar, Transylvania and most of Croatia and Sclavonia.

b. Russia kept Azoff.

c. Poland recovered Podolia, which Mohammed IV had conquered.

d. Venice restored her conquests north of the Isthmus of Corinth, but kept the Morea.

Turkey was practically driven back to the Danube, and with the beginning of the break up

of the Turkish Empire, together with the expansion of Russia by the acquisition of Azoff, the Eastern Question began.

VI. The Treaty of Passarowitz, 1718.

A. Ali Cumurgi.

The Grand Vizier Ali Cumurgi, encouraged by the defeat of the Russians on the Pruth, 1711,¹ and the weakness of Austria after the War of the Spanish Succession, tried to recover what Turkey had lost by the Peace of Carlowitz.

1715. Ali Cumurgi conquered the Morea from the Venetians.

1716. Prince Eugene routed the Turks at Peterwardein, where Ali Cumurgi was slain.

1717. Prince Eugene won the Battle of Belgrade and took the city.

B. The Treaty.

The Sultan, realising that the possession of Belgrade gave the Austrians an opportunity of invading Turkey, accepted the mediation of Great Britain and Holland and concluded the Treaty of Passarowitz in 1718.

(1) Austria secured Belgrade and the Banat of Temesvar in Hungary.

(2) The Turks kept the Morea ; Venice kept Corfu and her conquests in Albania and Dalmatia.

The Treaty marks the zenith of the territorial expansion of the House of Austria.

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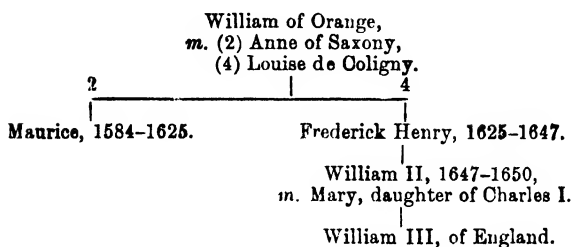
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¹ Page 449.

SECTION XVII

**THE UNITED PROVINCES
IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY**

MAURICE OF NASSAU, PRINCE OF ORANGE



The conclusion of the truce of 1609¹ had been a triumph for Oldenbarneveltdt over Maurice, and, in spite of the former's successful efforts to protect the interests of the House of Nassau in that truce, the estrangement between the two continued. In the years immediately following the truce there was little warfare, although the Dutch took the Protestant side in the dispute about the succession to the Duchies of Jülich and Cleves, and Maurice captured Jülich in 1610. The peace gave Oldenbarneveltdt an opportunity of strengthening the position of the United Provinces by successful diplomacy.

I. Foreign Policy.

A. The development of Dutch colonies, 1600-1625.

(1) The East Indies.

The Dutch East India Company was founded in 1601 with a capital of £540,000. It was a powerful military organisation as well as a trading company,

¹ Page 303.

and soon became a power in the East Indies in spite of the rivalry of the English and Portuguese. The Dutch took Amboyna from the latter and established themselves in the Moluccas in 1605; in 1606 they utterly routed a fleet of Spanish and Portuguese vessels sent against them from the Philippines; their settlement at Surat in 1617 alarmed the English. They established themselves in Java and in 1619 built Batavia, which became the centre of government for the Dutch East Indies.

1623. The Dutch massacred English merchants at Amboyna, gained command of the islands and compelled the English to confine their trade to India.

The Dutch introduced tea into Europe from China in 1610, and coffee from Mocha in Arabia in 1616.

(2) The West Indies.

c. 1600. Unsuccessful attempt to establish Dutch settlements on the Amazon.

1616 Foundation of Dutch Guiana.

1621. Formation of the Dutch West India Company, which acquired the coast of North America from Chesapeake Bay to Newfoundland.

(3) Africa.

1617. The establishment of a Dutch settlement on the island of Goree led later to important acquisitions on the Gold Coast.

B. England.

The development of Dutch commerce aroused great jealousy in England, which was increased by the competition between Dutch and English fishermen for the herring fishery in the North Sea and for the whaling trade in the Arctic Ocean.

The taxes imposed by England on Dutch fishermen aggravated the ill-feeling, and the leaning of James I towards Spain made him less friendly towards the Dutch. But better relations were established by the surrender

in **1616** of the "cautionary towns" (Brill and Flushing, held by England as a pledge of repayment of money advanced to the Dutch by Elizabeth) for £215,000, which was only a part of the sum due to England.

G. Other alliances.

Oldenbarneveldt established friendly relations with the Hanse towns, Russia, Venice, Morocco and Constantinople, and thus made the United Provinces an important Power in Europe.

II. The Execution of Oldenbarneveldt, 1619.

A. Religious strife.

The Dutch Protestants were Calvinists; they were now split into two parties.

(1) The Remonstrants, or Arminians.

Jacob Harmensen, or Arminius, a Professor of Theology at Leyden, urged the mitigation of the Calvinistic doctrines of predestination, election and grace. He was supported by Hugo Grotius and Oldenbarneveldt, who favoured religious toleration and advocated the supremacy of the State in religious questions; by Louise de Coligny, widow of William of Orange, and her son Frederick William; by Holland and Zealand. In **1610** the Arminians issued the Remonstrance, in which they set forth their views.

[**1609.** Death of Arminius.]

(2) The Contra-Remonstrants, or Gomarists.

Gomarus, also a professor at Leyden, strongly advocated the strict assertion of Calvinist doctrine. He was supported by the clergy and Maurice of Nassau, who "did not know whether predestination were blue or green"; his cousin William Lewis, who acted from religious conviction, joined his party, whose Counter-Remonstrance, issued in reply to the Arminian Remonstrance, gained them the nickname of the Counter-Remonstrants. They demanded that

a National Synod should be summoned to decide the controversy ; the Arminians appealed to the States of Holland.

B. The struggle becomes political.

The relations between the States-General of the United Provinces and the Provincial States, which claimed to be independent, were not clearly defined, and the controversy led to a political struggle between the States-General and the Provincial States of Holland.

December, **1616**. Oldenbarneveldt persuaded the States of Holland to raise a force of mercenaries.

1617. The States-General, in which Maurice commanded a majority of votes, resolved to call a Synod.

1617. The Provincial States of Holland refused to agree to call a Synod.

July, **1617**. Maurice, on behalf of the Counter-Remonstrants, seized a church at The Hague. Therefore

August, **1617**. Oldenbarneveldt persuaded the Provincial States of Holland to pass the "Sharp Resolution," asserting that the summons of a Synod was an infringement of the sovereign rights of a Provincial State in matters of religion.

Maurice, as Stadtholder of Holland, was bound to obey the instructions of the Provincial States ; as Captain of the Union to carry out the orders of the States-General. He took the side of the latter.

July, **1618**. Maurice occupied Utrecht with a small army, secured a majority of Counter-Remonstrants on the Town Council and Provincial States. Holland was unable to continue the struggle alone ; soon all the Provincial States agreed that a Synod should meet.

August 29th, **1618**. Arrest of Oldenbarneveldt and Grotius and flight of many Remonstrant leaders.

C. The Synod of Dort.

November 13th, **1618**. First meeting of the Synod of Dort which, although composed mainly of subjects of

the United Provinces, included representatives from England, Scotland, Geneva and Brandenburg.

May, 1619. The Synod accepted the Netherland Confession and Heidelberg Catechism,¹ and declared the Arminians heretics. Many Arminians were exiled.

D. The execution of Oldenbarneveldt.

November, 1618. Oldenbarneveldt and Grotius were tried by a Commission appointed by the States-General and charged with taking bribes from Spain and betraying their country by seeking to dissolve the union of the provinces and maintaining the right of each province to determine its own religious affairs. Oldenbarneveldt was most unjustly condemned to death. Maurice refused to exercise the Stadtholder's prerogative of pardon because Oldenbarneveldt would not sue for pardon.

May 13th, 1619. Oldenbarneveldt beheaded. His execution was a judicial murder.

III. The Later Years of Maurice.

1621. The Twelve Years' Truce with Spain came to an end and Maurice again opposed Spinola, but not with his former success.

1622. Maurice relieved Bergen-op-Zoom.

1624. Spinola captured Breda.

April 23rd, 1625. Maurice died at The Hague. His exceptional military skill had enabled him to render great service to his country between 1588 and 1609; as a politician he was far inferior to Oldenbarneveldt, and the execution of the latter greatly tarnished the reputation of Maurice.

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FREDERICK HENRY, PRINCE OF ORANGE, 1625-1647

Frederick Henry, son of William of Orange and Louise de Coligny, succeeded his brother Maurice as Prince of Orange and was elected Stadtholder by the Provinces of Holland, Zealand, Utrecht, Overijssel and Guelders, and, by the States-General, Captain and Admiral-General and head of the Council of State.

He proved himself both a great general and, unlike Maurice, a skilful politician. His affability won him personal popularity, and he was tolerant in his religious views. He owed much to the active help of his wife, Amalia von Solms, who not only maintained a splendid court, but, during her husband's frequent absence on active service, proved herself a successful diplomatist.

I. The Thirty Years' War.

A. The security of the United Provinces assured.

Spinola's capture of Breda in 1624 threatened the security of the United Provinces; Frederick Henry obtained a large grant from Richelieu, on condition of sending a fleet to assist in the blockade of La Rochelle,¹ and reorganised his army which was joined by many English and Scotch volunteers.

September 14th, 1629. Frederick Henry captured Hertogenbosch,² thus securing his southern frontier.

1631. The United Provinces joined the confederation formed by Gustavus Adolphus against the Empire. But their main object was to maintain their freedom against Spain, although by detaining large Spanish forces in the Low Countries they helped Protestantism in Germany.

1631. The Dutch destroyed a Spanish fleet on the Slaak.

August, 1632. Frederick Henry, in spite of the intervention of Pappenheim, captured Maestricht, and thus strengthened his eastern frontier.

¹ Page 347.

² Also known by its French name of Bois-le-duc

B. Alliance with France.

1635. Alliance made between the United Provinces and France, in spite of the opposition of the Provincial States of Holland. Richelieu undertook to help the Dutch with money and men ; neither state was to make peace without consent of the other.

October, **1635-1636.** The Cardinal Infant Ferdinand gained some successes, but his attempt to relieve Breda in **1637** failed owing to a French invasion of the Netherlands which compelled him to march south.

October, **1637.** Frederick Henry captured Breda.

1638-1639. The unwillingness of the Provincial States of Holland to pay taxes imposed by the States-General to meet the cost of the war hampered Frederick Henry, and the Cardinal Infant defeated Counts William and Henry of Nassau.

October, **1639.** The Dutch inflicted a crushing defeat on the Spanish fleet in the Downs.

C. The English marriage.

The indignation aroused in England by the action of the Dutch in attacking a Spanish fleet in English waters and the commercial rivalry between the English and Dutch in the East Indies nearly led to war ; but the marriage of Frederick Henry's son William to Mary of England¹ on May 12th, **1641**, averted the danger.

D. Later operations.

The Dutch profited by the weakening of the power of Spain, by the revolt of Portugal in **1640**, the French victory at Rocroi² in **1643** and the renewal of the alliance with France in **1643**.

1644-1645. Frederick Henry's successful operations included the capture of Hulst in **1645**.

E. The Treaty of Münster, 1648.

The fear that the French after their victory at Rocroi

¹ Genealogical tree on page 505.

² Page 411.

might secure too strong a position in the Netherlands and differences that arose with the Portuguese in Brazil inclined Frederick Henry to make peace with Spain, in spite of the provisions of the treaty of 1635.¹

[March 14th, 1647. Death of Frederick Henry.]

January 30th, 1648. Conclusion of the Treaty of Münster. The United Provinces were recognised as a sovereign state; kept all their conquests; obtained freedom of trade in the East and West Indies.

The Treaty of Münster closes the Revolt of the Netherlands which had resulted in the freedom of the United Provinces.

II. Colonial Development.

A. The East Indies.

A succession of very competent Governors-General ruling from Batavia, of whom the most famous was Anthony van Diemen (1636-1645), greatly extended the influence and secured the prosperity of the Dutch East Indies.

1636. Van Diemen made with the King of Candy a treaty which gave the Dutch an opportunity of establishing themselves in Ceylon.

1640. Van Diemen conquered Malacca.

1651. The Dutch settled at the Cape of Good Hope, a calling station for Batavia, from which the new colony was governed.

The Dutch formed settlements in Mauritius, Sumatra, and Borneo, conquered Formosa and gained a monopoly of the trade with Japan, from which the Portuguese had been expelled.

B. The West Indies.

(1) Brazil.

a. Bahia, or San Salvador.

1624. Piet Hein captured Bahia.

¹ Page 511, B.

1625. The Spaniards recaptured Bahia.

1628. Piet Hein captured a Spanish treasure fleet in Matanzas Bay and obtained booty worth eleven and a half million florins.

(2) Pernambuco.

1630. The Dutch captured Olinda, the capital of Pernambuco, and gradually extended their authority over most of the province which they successfully defended by the great naval victory of Itamaraca in **1640**. Their success was largely due to the wise rule of Joan Maurice of Nassau, Governor-General from **1637-1644**, who won the goodwill of the Portuguese.

But the heavy cost of their expeditions crippled the finances of the Company; the Directors quarrelled with Joan Maurice, and Pernambuco was reconquered by the Portuguese in **1654**.

(3) The Caribbean Sea.

The Dutch explored the Caribbean Sea and settled in Curaçoa and St. Eustatius, which they still hold.

The French founded Cayenne, in Guiana, in **1625**.

III. The Golden Age of the United Provinces.

By **1648** the Dutch had become a great naval and commercial power. In the period of Frederick Henry Dutch literature and painting reached their highest point.

A. Learning.

The work of Heinsius, Vossius and his five sons, and especially of Grotius (**1583-1645**), whose *De jure belli et pacis* appeared in **1625**, represent Dutch scholarship at its best. To this period belong the philosophical works of the Frenchman Descartes, who lived in Holland, and his pupil Spinoza (**1632-1676**), the researches in physiology of Lesuvenhoek and the mechanical inventions of Christian Huyghens (**1629-1693**).

B. Vernacular literature.

The comedies of Brederoo (1585-1618), the classical tragedies of Vondel (1587-1679), with their splendid choruses, the beauty and simplicity of the popular poems of Jacob Cato, the *Netherland Histories* of Hooft, around whom gathered the famous "Muiden Circle" of literary men, appeared in or about the time of Frederick Henry.

C. Painting.

Dutch painting was now at its best and a remarkable number of great painters were at work. These include Rembrandt (1607-1669), Hals, Steen, Ostade, Metz, Paul Potter, Wouverman, Cuyp, Hobbema, Ruysdael and many others.

WILLIAM II, PRINCE OF ORANGE,**1647-1650**

William II succeeded his father Frederick Henry in 1647. His short reign is important as an episode in the struggle between the Provincial States of Holland and the States-General.

A. William's object.

William II desired to effect a closer union of the United Provinces under his supreme authority with the co-operation of France. He opposed the Treaty of Münster, which necessitated the breaking of the alliance with France, but it was carried into effect mainly owing to the persistence of Holland.

B. The disbanding of the Army.

After the Treaty the Council of State resolved to reduce the number of the Federal army, which was under the authority of William II as Captain-General of the States-General. Holland resolved to disband more of their division of the Federal army than the States-

General desired and, acting on their own authority, issued orders accordingly. Amsterdam took the lead and thus, quite wrongly, implied that Provincial levies were responsible only to Provincial States and not to the States-General.

July, 1650. William II imprisoned six leading members of the States of Holland, and, although he failed to seize Amsterdam, the States of Holland and the Town Council of Amsterdam submitted to the authority of the States-General.

C. The triumph of Holland.

November 6th, 1650. Sudden death of William II.

November 13th, 1650. Birth of his son, afterwards William III of England.

The death of William enabled the opponents of his house to adopt in the Great Assembly of January, 1651, a policy of decentralisation which gave the Provincial States a large measure of independence and weakened the supremacy of the States-General. The opposition of Holland to the States-General had been partly due to the fact that, although by far the richest and most powerful of the States, she had had only one vote in the States-General. In the new conditions Holland became the leader of the United Provinces, and the Grand Pensionary of Holland became the leading man in the country.

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JOHN DE WITT, GRAND PENSIONARY OF HOLLAND, 1653-1672

The family of Orange owed their commanding position in the United Provinces largely to the fact that the Prince of Orange was always elected Captain-General and Admiral-General of the

States-General and Stadtholder of some of the provinces, and therefore exercised important executive powers. But William III was only a baby and would be unable to hold any office for years. The Republican Party, led by Holland, directed by the burgher aristocracy and supported by most of the Dutch towns, now secured the supremacy, and John de Witt, appointed Grand Pensionary of Holland in **1653**, became head of the Government. He was a staunch republican, absolutely honest, devoted to his country, a great orator, an accomplished diplomatist. He aimed at preventing the restoration to power of the House of Orange, at strengthening the influence of the States of Holland and defending, when necessary, the interests of the United Provinces, particularly against France and England.

I. The First War with England.

A. Causes.

(1) General.

Relations between England and the United Provinces had long been embittered by the massacre of Amboyna; by the continued rivalry of Dutch and English traders in the East Indies; by the defeat of the Spaniards by the Dutch in English waters in **1639**; by disputes as to rights of fishing on the Dogger Bank; by the assertion by the English of their supremacy in the Narrow Seas, of the right of searching foreign vessels, and by their demand that Dutch vessels should strike their flags to English. The Dutch particularly resented the restrictions on their free use of the Narrow Seas, which would injure their trade which had developed rapidly since the end of the war with Spain.

(2) Failure of proposed Union, 1651.

The English Parliament thought that the death of William II afforded an opportunity of making a closer union between the two republics; but a proposal for a close alliance with a Common Council of both States

sitting in London, was rejected by the Dutch, who refused to surrender their absolute independence.

(3) The Navigation Act, **1651**.

The English Parliament therefore passed the Navigation Act, which dealt a great blow at the lucrative Dutch carrying trade by providing that all English exports were to be carried only in English ships, and imports either in English ships or in the ships of producing countries.

B. The War, **1652-1654**.

1652. Blake defeated the Dutch in the Downs, but was defeated in November off Dungeness by Van Tromp, who thus regained the command of the Channel.

1653. Blake and Monk defeated Van Tromp off Portland in February; Monk defeated and killed Van Tromp off the Texel on July 30th.

Great hardship was caused in the United Provinces owing to interference with foreign trade, on which the Dutch were largely dependent for their food supply, and by the capture of the Dutch herring fleet by Blake. The death of Van Tromp caused a panic.

C. Peace, **1654**.

Both De Witt, who became Grand Pensionary in **1653**, and Cromwell, who established his supremacy by expelling Barebone's Parliament in the same year and noted with some alarm the increasing friendship between Denmark and the Dutch, were anxious for peace.

The Dutch agreed to salute English ships in the Narrow Seas, to allow the right of search, to pay for the right of fishing in English waters, to compensate English merchants for outrages in the East Indies. A secret clause, the Act of Seclusion, provided for the exclusion of the House of Orange from the posts of Stadtholder and Captain-General. The subsequent discovery of this clause enraged the Orange party and won much sympathy for the young Prince William.

II. War with Portugal, 1557.

1654. The Portuguese, profiting by the naval war between the Dutch and English, had recaptured Pernambuco. De Witt declared war on the refusal of Portugal to give compensation.

1658. De Ruyter blockaded the harbours of Portugal and ruined the trade of the country.

Portugal was greatly strengthened by alliances with Louis XIV and Charles II, who was betrothed to Catherine of Braganza. The Dutch captured Ceylon and Macassar.

1661. A truce was made. Both sides kept their conquests.

III. Denmark.

1659.¹ De Witt, fearing the growing power of Sweden, united with France and England to compel Sweden to accept the Treaty of Roskild. Charles X wished to continue the war. De Ruyter took Funen and stormed Nyborg in November, **1659**. Holland, France and England guaranteed the Treaty of Copenhagen, which made peace between Sweden and Denmark in **1661**.

IV. Second War with England.**A. Causes.**

Charles II wished his nephew Prince William of Orange to obtain the posts hitherto held by his family. De Witt, fearing that the Republic would suffer, refused to agree and, in **1666**, made William a 'Child of State' under the wardship of Holland. The Dutch were irritated by the enforcement of the Navigation Acts and justly complained of the seizure by England in **1664**, in time of peace, of Goree and Guinea in Africa and New Amsterdam in North America. The English were jealous of the commercial success of the Dutch, who had refused to give up Pularoon in the East Indies, which they had taken in **1620** and kept, in spite of the

¹ Page 431.

decision of arbitrators appointed after the Treaty in 1654 that it should be restored ; the Dutch had taken part of Guiana from the English in 1664.

B. Declaration of War.

The Dutch had made a commercial treaty in 1662 with Louis XIV, who thus hoped to stop them from interfering with his plans against the Spanish Netherlands.

March, 1665. England declared war on the United Provinces.

C. The War.

(1) At sea.

June, 1665. The Duke of York routed Opdam at Lowestoft, but allowed him to escape too easily.

[January, 1666. In accordance with a promise made in 1662 to help the Dutch if they were attacked, Louis XIV declared war on England. He had vainly tried to reconcile the opponents and declared war with great reluctance, because the death of Philip IV of Spain in September, 1665, seemed to improve his chance of securing the Spanish Netherlands.]

June 1st-4th, 1666. De Ruyter outmanœuvred Monk in the "Four Days' Battle" in the Downs, but the arrival of English reinforcements under Rupert prevented him from gaining a complete victory.

July 25th, 1666. Monk defeated the Dutch off the North Foreland, and later destroyed a large merchant fleet in the Terschelling Roads.

June, 1667. De Ruyter sailed into the Thames, seized Sheerness, forced his way into the Medway, burned the ships in Chatham Docks and captured the *Royal Charles*.

This disaster was due partly to the fact that Charles had squandered money voted by Parliament for the

war, partly to Louis XIV, who in April, **1667**, had promised Charles II that he would give no more help to the Dutch, and assured him that the Dutch fleet would not go on active service in the coming summer. Relying on this assurance the English fleet had been laid up at Chatham.

(2) The Colonies.

1665. English privateers from Jamaica captured St. Eustatia and Tobago.

1666. The French took Antigua and Montserrat, the Dutch Surinam.

1667. The Dutch recaptured Tobago.

(3) Münster.

1665. The warlike Bishop of Münster, in accordance with an agreement with Charles II, invaded Overijssel.

1666. The Bishop of Münster was compelled to lay down his arms by France, Denmark and the Great Elector.

D. The Peace of Breda, **1667**.

England was impoverished by the Great Plague of **1665**, the Great Fire of **1666** and the extravagance of Charles II, and the disaster of **1667** increased the desire for peace. The Dutch had suffered heavily in the war, and were anxious to make peace in view of Louis XIV's designs on the Spanish Netherlands.

July, **1667**. By the Peace of Breda friendly relations were established between England and Holland, France and Denmark.

- (1) The Navigation Act was modified ; Dutch vessels could carry into England goods coming down the Rhine or from the Southern Netherlands. This clause gave the Dutch control of much of the commerce of Western Germany.
- (2) The English kept New Amsterdam (which was renamed New York) and New Jersey ; the Dutch kept Surinam, Tobago and Pularoon.

- (3) France gave to England Montserrat and Antigua and recovered Acadia.¹

[August, 1667. The States of Holland passed the "Eternal Edict," which provided that the Captain or Admiral-General of the United Provinces should not be the Stadtholder of any province. This was caused by plots to restore Prince William III to the posts his ancestors had held and to weaken the Republican Party.]

V. The War of Devolution, 1667-1668.

A. The Law of Devolution.

Louis hoped to secure the throne of Spain, and was particularly anxious to secure the fortresses of the Spanish Netherlands to strengthen his northern frontier and protect Paris from attack. Philip IV of Spain died in 1665, leaving by his first marriage a daughter, Maria Theresa, who had married Louis XIV in 1660, and on her marriage renounced all her rights to her father's dominions in return for a dowry of 500,000 crowns. Louis XIV maintained that the renunciation was invalid, both because the dowry had not been paid and the Queen had been under age when she made it.

Philip IV left by his second marriage a son, Charles II, aged three years, for whom his mother, Queen Maria Anne, daughter of the Emperor Ferdinand III, claimed all his father's possessions.

But Louis XIV asserted that the Spanish Netherlands should pass to his wife Maria Theresa in accordance with the Law of Devolution whereby in Brabant female children of a first marriage inherited private property in land in preference to male children of the second. But it was absurd to maintain that the sovereignty of the country was inherited in accordance with a local custom which applied only to private property.

Louis' position was strong. He had purchased Dunkirk from England and made a treaty with the United Provinces in 1662, although De Witt refused to support

¹ Nova Scotia.

his designs on the Spanish Netherlands. In **1667** he made a secret agreement with Charles II, who promised not to interfere if Louis attacked the Netherlands. In **1664** he had made treaties with Sweden, Brandenburg and Saxony, and in March, **1667**, with Portugal.

B. The Dutch and the Netherlands.

The hostility between the United Provinces and Spain had ended with the Treaty of Münster in **1648**. The Dutch now strongly supported the rule of Spain in the Netherlands because they were willing to "greet France as a friend and not as a neighbour," and viewed with alarm the possibility that France might secure Antwerp and the line of the Scheldt. In spite of the Treaty of **1662** ill-feeling had arisen between the French and Dutch owing to the protective duties imposed by Colbert which hampered the Dutch trade, and the duties imposed in consequence on French exports to the United Provinces.

C. The War.

January, **1667**. The death of Louis' mother, Anne of Austria, who was anxious to maintain peace between France and Spain, removed an obstacle to his plans.

May 24th, **1667**. In spite of pacific assurances recently given to the Spaniards and De Witt, Louis, who announced his intention of taking a "journey" to receive the possessions of his wife, invaded the Spanish Netherlands with an army of 50,000 men.

May-August, **1667**. Louis conquered the Southern Netherlands with great rapidity, taking, with little or no opposition, Charleroi, Tournai, Douai, Alost, Oudenarde and, on August 28th, Lille.

February, **1668**. Condé conquered Franche-Comté in a fortnight.

D. The Treaty of Partition, **1668**.

January, **1668**. The Emperor Leopold I and Louis XIV secretly arranged to divide the Spanish Empire

between them. France was to receive the Netherlands, Franche-Comté, Naples, Sicily, Navarre, the Spanish possessions in Africa and the Philippines ; Leopold was to get Spain and the rest of the Spanish Empire.

E. The Triple Alliance, 1668.

De Witt viewed Louis' success with alarm, for the "barrier fortresses" of the Netherlands had protected the United Provinces. He was unwilling to go to war with France, but by skilful diplomacy checked her further progress. Although Charles II wished to support Louis, the opinion of England was strong against a French alliance ; Sweden, an old ally of France, was angry because Louis had discontinued to pay her a subsidy. De Witt and Temple therefore formed on January 23rd, **1668**, the Triple Alliance by which the United Provinces, Sweden¹ and England agreed to protect each other, to make peace between France and Spain by the surrender to Louis of either his conquests in the Netherlands or Franche-Comté. A secret clause bound them, if necessary, to force France by war to accept the terms.

F. The Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, 1668.

May 2nd, **1668**. Peace was made between France and Spain. Louis restored Franche-Comté, but kept the barrier fortresses, of which Lille, Tournai and Charleroi were the chief.

Louis had made Paris safe ; he gave up Franche-Comté because he wished to avoid further war in view of the bad health of Charles II of Spain, whose death would give Louis and Leopold an excuse for enforcing the secret Partition of **1668**, which was one of the chief reasons for Louis' acceptance of the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle.

The Treaty was a diplomatic triumph for De Witt. A medal was struck to commemorate the Peace, which asserted that the Dutch had "made the Laws secure,

¹ Sweden actually joined the Alliance in May.

reformed Religion, reconciled Kings, maintained the Freedom of the Seas, established Peace in Europe." But Louis, who learned of the secret clause, was furious, and his determination to take vengeance on the Dutch for checking his plans in 1668 was one of the reasons of the war of 1672.

VI. The Fall of De Witt.

A. The break up of the Triple Alliance.

Louis resolved to isolate the United Provinces before attacking them and contrived to break up the Triple Alliance.

(1) England.

May, 1670. Charles II, anxious to strengthen Catholicism in England and the House of Orange in the United Provinces, agreed to join Louis in war against the Dutch and to help him to secure the throne of Spain when Charles II of Spain died. Charles II was to receive Walcheren, Sluys and Cadsand, an immediate payment of £150,000 and £225,000 a year for the duration of the war; the rights of the Prince of Orange were to be maintained as far as possible.

Louis thus secured the help of the English fleet.

(2) Sweden.

April, 1672. Sweden, anxious to secure Louis' help against Denmark and in the defence of Swedish Pomerania against Brandenburg, in return for a large subsidy agreed, by the Treaty of Stockholm, to help Louis if the Emperor or any German power attacked him when he was at war with the Dutch.

(3) Further diplomatic successes of Louis XIV.

1670. Louis, hoping to secure the Empire if Leopold, who was ill, died, concluded an alliance with Bavaria which provided for joint action between Louis and the

Elector on the death of Charles II of Spain or of the Emperor Leopold.

1671. Louis made treaties with Hanover, Osnabrück, Brunswick, Lüneburg, the Palatinate and, **1672**, with Cologne and Münster.

1671. The Emperor Leopold promised to remain neutral in the war between Louis and the Dutch, provided Louis did not attack Spain or the Empire.

Louis had thus done much to secure himself from German intervention. The chance of such intervention was diminished by the Emperor's fears of a rebellion in Hungary and by the invasion of Poland by the Turks and Cossacks in **1672**.¹

Louis' position was further strengthened by the wealth which Colbert's successful policy had poured into his treasury; by the skilful discipline and organisation which Louvois had effected in the army; by the strength of his navy, which was surpassed only by those of England and the United Provinces.

B. The danger of the United Provinces.

The United Provinces were almost isolated.

- (1) December, **1671**. Common fear of Louis led to an alliance between Spain and the Dutch.
- (2) April, **1672**. The Great Elector of Brandenburg, in spite of offers of Guelderland and Zutphen from Louis, made an alliance with the Dutch because he feared that the success of France would be dangerous to Protestantism and Germany.
- (3) **1672**. The Elector of Mainz refused to join Louis, and took an active part in a league of German princes formed to protect the Rhine.

C. The beginning of the Dutch War of Independence, **1672-1678**.

(1) The Declaration of War.

March, **1672**. Before war was declared the English made a disgraceful but unsuccessful attack to capture

¹ Page 497.

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the Dutch merchant fleet returning home from Smyrna.

March 28th, **1672**. England declared war on the United Provinces.

April 6th, **1672**. Louis XIV declared war on the United Provinces.

(2) Southwold Bay.

June 7th, **1672**. De Ruyter defeated the French and English fleets in Southwold Bay and averted a naval attack on the United Provinces.

(3) French invasion of the United Provinces.

May-June. Louis, using as his base Charleroi, gained by the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle in **1668**, sent a force under Condé down the right bank of the Rhine while Turenne reduced the left bank. Their united forces overran Guelderland, made the "Passage of the Rhine" at Tolhuys on June 12th, thus turning the flank of the army of William of Orange which held the line of the Yssel; the French then secured Nymwegen to protect their rear, again crossed the Rhine and in a few weeks, owing to Turenne's masterly strategy, had occupied Guelderland, Overijssel, Utrecht and part of Holland. Amsterdam would probably have fallen if Louis had taken Condé's advice to send a cavalry force against it. Louis' grave blunder enabled the sluices to be cut in the middle of June, and the flooding of the country saved Amsterdam.

(4) The Dutch offer terms.

The Dutch, in despair, now offered to surrender Maestricht, Dutch Brabant and Flanders and to pay the expenses of the war. Louis demanded the cession of more territory, the recognition of Roman Catholicism in the United Provinces, the revocation of all tariffs on French goods. These arrogant terms were refused, and the Dutch resolved, if necessary, to flood their country and migrate to the East Indies.

D. The murder of De Witt.**(1) Growing power of William of Orange.**

De Witt had tried to persuade all the states to accept the Eternal Edict¹ passed by Holland in 1667; but Zealand, Friesland and Gronigen, which were strongly Orange, consented only on condition that William should be made a member of the Council of State. Fearing that William might get control of the army, De Witt, while doing all he could to strengthen the navy, had not provided adequate military forces. The Dutch army was sacrificed to Republican traditions, and this grave error facilitated the advance of the French. On February 25th, 1672, William was appointed Captain-General of the Union. In spite of the Eternal Edict, and owing to resentment at the harsh terms offered by Louis, he was elected Stadtholder of Zealand and Holland in July. The Orange Party was now supreme.

(2) False charges against the De Witts.

Popular hatred charged John De Witt with embezzlement of public funds, and his brother Cornelis was imprisoned in the Gevangenpoort at The Hague, on a charge made by Tichelaer, a barber, of plotting against William of Orange.

(3) The murder.

August 20th, 1572. Murder of Cornelis and John de Witt, who had gone to visit his brother in the Gevangenpoort, by an Orange mob led by Tichelaer. William apparently was not implicated in the murder. But by shielding the murderers and giving Tichelaer a pension he made himself accessory to the crime which greatly strengthened his position.

References :

The Ascendancy of France (Wakeman), Rivingtons, chap. x.
Cambridge Modern History, Vol. V, chaps. vii, viii (2).

¹ Page 521.

WILLIAM III OF ORANGE AND LOUIS XIV, 1672-1678

I. The Continuance of the War of Independence.

A. 1672.

- (1) William displayed great vigour, asserted his determination to "die in the last ditch," if necessary, and succeeded in delaying the advance of the French, who lost time in petty sieges. Although his attack on the French at Charleroi failed, his successful resistance gave time for the growing feeling against France to weaken the alliances she had made.
- (2) The Emperor Leopold, fearing the increase of French power on the Rhine, changed sides and in October, **1672**, joined the Grand Elector and the Dutch in a new coalition against France.
- (3) In the winter of **1672** army forces of Brandenburgers and Imperial troops under Montecuculi united at Halberstadt and advanced towards the Rhine. Turenne was sent to resist them; he stopped their advance, but the diversion of his troops from the Low Countries relieved the pressure on the Dutch.

B. 1673.

- (1) June, **1673**. The Great Elector was defeated by Turenne and compelled to make peace with Louis. Thus the first coalition against France broke down.
- (2) June, **1673**. Vauban captured Maestricht.
- (3) June, **1673**. De Ruyter defeated the French and English fleets at Schooneveld and again at Kykduin in August.
- (4) August, **1673**. Formation of a new coalition against France, including the Emperor Leopold, Lorraine, Spain and the United Provinces.

- (5) November, 1673. William and Montecuculi, who had evaded Turenne, captured Bonn. The French were therefore compelled to evacuate Guelderland, Utrecht and Overijssel, of which William became Stadtholder; the Electors of Trèves and Mainz joined the Coalition.

The Dutch greatly improved their position in 1673.

C. 1674.

- (1) Early in 1674 William of Orange was made hereditary Stadtholder of Holland, Zealand, Utrecht, Overijssel and Guelderland, and hereditary Captain and Admiral-General of the United Provinces. He thus gained complete control of foreign politics.
- (2) February, 1674. Owing to the pressure of the Country Party and strong opposition to the Dutch war in England, Charles II concluded the Treaty of London with the United Provinces which undertook to salute the English flag and to pay 800,000 crowns towards the cost of the war. Denmark and the Elector Palatine joined the United Provinces.
- (3) May, 1674. The Empire declared war on France and, in July, formed a definite alliance with Spain and the United Provinces, which the Great Elector soon joined.

Sweden alone remained faithful to Louis XIV, who was now fighting the rest of Western Europe in a war in which he could not hope for ultimate success. For France the war became one of defence, and for this the possession of the Rhine and the barrier fortresses was most important.

- (4) May and June, 1674. Louis XIV conquered Franche-Comté.

Thus the Jura Mountains became the frontier of France.

(5) Turenne and the Rhine.

June, **1674**. Turenne defeated the Imperialists at Zinzheim and devastated the Palatinate.

October, **1674**. Turenne defeated the Imperialists at Enzheim, but the Brandenburgers and Imperialists crossed the Rhine at Mainz and occupied Lower Alsace.

December, **1674**. Turenne made a masterly march behind the Vosges Mountains to Belfort, routed the Great Elector at Türkheim on January 5th, **1675**, and regained the left bank of the Rhine.

(6) August, **1674**. William of Orange and Condé fought a drawn battle at Seneff.D. **1675**.

[June. Complete defeat of the Swedes by the Great Elector at Fehrbellin.]¹

July, **1675**. Turenne crossed the Rhine, drove Montecuculi into Baden, but was killed at Sassbach on July 26th. "With Turenne fell the last hope of France in the field."² The French, in despair at his death, recrossed the Rhine, followed by Montecuculi, who invaded Alsace but was held in check by Condé.

September, **1675**. The Duke of Lorraine routed Créqui, who succeeded Condé, at Saarbrück.

E. **1676-1678**.

The fighting in the last years of the war was distinctly in favour of France. The death of Turenne had compelled Louis to fall back on to the Sambre and give up his projected invasion of Holland. But he took Bouchain and Condé in May, **1676**; Valenciennes, commanding the line of the Scheldt, and Cambrai in **1677**, in which year the Duke of Orleans defeated William of Orange at Cassel. In **1678** Louis captured Ghent and Ypres.

Although the new Duke of Lorraine captured Philips-

¹ Page 442.

² Wakeman.

burg in September, 1676, Créqui gained a number of successes on the Rhine and took Freiburg in November, 1677.

The Dutch fleet, sent to help the Spaniards to put down a revolt in Sicily, failed to achieve its object. De Ruyter was killed in April, 1676; and in June, 1676, the French routed the Dutch fleet off Palermo and secured the command of the Eastern Mediterranean.

II. The Peace of Nymwegen, 1678.

France was nearly exhausted by a war which had undone the work of Colbert; the French soldiers were tired of gaining victories from which, owing to William's skill, they gained little advantage. There was a desire for peace among the Dutch merchants, especially in Amsterdam, and strong opposition was felt towards William, who had married Princess Mary of England on November 4th, 1677, and hoped to induce England to open hostilities with France. Louis, fearing that England would turn against him, had opened negotiations for peace in 1676. He now tried to make peace with the United Provinces, but William insisted that the allies of the Dutch should be considered, and, encouraged by the apparent determination of Charles II to support him, remained under arms, and on August 14th, 1678, although unofficially aware that peace had been signed, fought an indecisive battle with Luxemburg at St. Denis near Mons.

A. The Treaties.

Three treaties, usually termed the Peace of Nymwegen, were made between France and the United Provinces in August, 1678; France and Spain in September, 1678; and France and the Empire in February, 1679. The terms were—

- (1) France kept Franche-Comté; a strong line of fortresses extending from Dunkirk to the Meuse and including

Valenciennes, Cambray, St. Omer, Ypres and Cassel ; Freiburg and the passage of the Rhine at Breisach.

(2) France restored

a. To the Dutch—Maestricht.

b. To Spain—Messina ; a number of fortresses in the Netherlands, including Charleroi, Oudenarde and Ghent.

c. To the Empire—Philipsburg.

(3) Louis gave favourable commercial conditions to the Dutch and abolished the hostile tariff Colbert had imposed on Dutch goods.

B. Criticism.

The Peace of Nymwegen was a triumph for Louis and is regarded as the pinnacle of his glory. "It left Louis XIV the dictator of Europe."¹

But he had failed in the object with which he had started the war. The Dutch, whom he hated as Protestants and republicans and despised as "messieurs les marchands," remained unconquered ; they had revealed to Europe the danger of French aggression and had shown how that danger might be averted by combination. The fortresses restored to Spain were to prove the barrier of the Netherlands in the War of the Grand Alliance. The Peace of Nymwegen therefore "marks the limit of Louis XIV's power."

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The Ascendancy of France (Wakeman), Rivingtons, chap. XI.

The Cambridge Modern History, Vol. V, chap. VII.

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William III. Twelve English Statesmen.

¹ *Cambridge Modern History*.

THE WAR OF THE LEAGUE OF AUGSBURG, 1688-1697

I. Policy of Louis XIV from 1678-1688.

A. Foreign policy.

After the Peace of Nymwegen, Louis followed a new line of foreign policy. His main object hitherto had been to strengthen the northern frontier of France by securing the Spanish Netherlands. He now tried to strengthen his power on the Rhine in the hope that he might ultimately secure the Imperial crown. The Elector of Brandenburg in **1679** promised to support the candidature of Louis when the Emperor Leopold died. His plans were facilitated by the dangerous attack of the Turks on Austria in **1683** and risings in Hungary in **1674-1681**, which prevented the Emperor from giving full attention to the French designs in Western Germany. Louis entered into friendly relations with the Turks and Hungarians in order to keep the Emperor busily engaged on his eastern frontier. The danger of English intervention was averted by an alliance made in **1681** with Charles II, who promised not to oppose Louis' policy, and by the accession in **1685** of James II, who was anxious to co-operate with Louis in supporting Roman Catholicism in England and France.

(1) The Chambers of Reunion.

1679-1680. Louis established Chambers of Reunion at Metz, Besançon and Breisach, and these interpreted in his favour some doubtful clauses in the Peace of Nymwegen. Louis therefore seized Alsace and Zweibrücken (which belonged to Sweden). In **1681** he occupied Strasburg, which was immediately strengthened by Vauban, and Casale, and besieged Luxembourg; the protests of the United Provinces and England compelled him to raise the siege of Luxembourg in **1682**.

[September 12th, **1683**. John Sobieski routed the Turks at Vienna.]

(2) War with Spain, **1683-1684.**

December, **1683.** Spain, fearing Louis' designs and encouraged by Sobieski's victory, declared war on France.

1684. The French invaded the Spanish Netherlands and took Luxemburg, Dixmude and Courtrai.

(3) The Truce of Ratisbon, **1684.**

By this truce between Louis XIV and the Emperor Leopold, acting for Spain, Louis made peace with Spain and was allowed to keep for twenty years all his recent acquisitions. He thus "got doorways to the north, the east and south-east; approaches towards Holland, Central Germany, Italy."¹

(4) The Palatinate.

1685. Death of the Elector Palatine. Louis XIV claimed the Palatinate for the Elector's sister, who had married his brother the Duke of Orleans. The new Elector, Philip William of Neuburg, sought the protection of the Empire.

(5) Genoa, **1684.**

May, **1684.** The French bombarded Genoa, which had maintained friendly relations with Spain and had refused to accept the protection of France.

1685. Ignominious submission of the Doge to Louis XIV at Versailles.

(6) Cologne, **1688.**

Louis supported the candidature of his strong partisan William von Fürstenberg for the Archbishopric and Electorate of Cologne, hoping thereby to strengthen French influence on the Rhine. William failed to secure the necessary number of votes, and Pope Innocent XI, who had quarrelled with Louis in **1682** about the Regale,² supported the rival candidate, Prince Joseph Clement of Bavaria, the nominee of the Emperor

¹ Kitchin.

² Page 598.

Leopold. Louis seized the town and Electorate of Cologne.

B. Domestic Policy.

(1) The Persecution of the Huguenots.

Largely owing to the influence of Madame de Maintenon the Huguenots were cruelly persecuted, and after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, on October 22nd, **1685**, many fled from France and found refuge in England, Brandenburg and the United Provinces.

(2) Naval and military preparations.

a. Louvois.

Louvois greatly improved the French army. Hitherto the nobles had controlled recruiting and the general organisation, and had made a large profit out of their positions. Louvois, ably assisted by Martinet, whose name has become a synonym for discipline, strengthened the control of the government and by a system of strict inspection ended many abuses. Regiments were properly paid, clothed and armed; camps of instruction were formed; the bayonet was introduced; the flintlock replaced the matchlock; the grenadiers were organised and the artillery improved; magazines of stores were established at suitable bases. Louvois proved a most efficient administrator and made the French army a very effective fighting force.

b. Seignelay.

Seignelay reformed the navy. He built one hundred and eighty ships of war and saw that they were properly equipped; he formed arsenals at Brest and Toulon. The navy defeated the Dutch and Spaniards at Palermo in **1676**, compelled the Dey of Algiers to submit in **1683**, bombarded Genoa in **1684** and Tunis and Tripoli in **1685**. The French thus gained supremacy in the Western Mediterranean.

II. Growing Opposition to Louis XIV.

The policy of Louis, who seemed to be aiming at universal monarchy, caused great alarm.

A. The League of 1681-1682.

October, 1681. Owing to the seizure of Strasburg and Casale a defensive league to maintain the Treaties of Westphalia and Nymwegen was made between the United Provinces and Sweden; it was joined in 1682 by the Emperor and Spain. The Great Elector, who wished to secure the support of France for his scheme of taking Pomerania from Sweden, did not join the League and tried to mediate between France and her opponents. But the great danger from the Turks engaged the Emperor's attention and little was done to check Louis, who strengthened his position by negotiation with Poland and Denmark.

B. The Revocation of the Edict of Nantes.

Louis' treatment of the Huguenots was strongly resented in the Protestant countries. The Revocation won over to William of Orange the old supporters of the De Witts; it, and the seizure of Zweibrücken, alienated Sweden, which in 1686 made a secret treaty to protect the Empire against France with its old enemy the Great Elector, who had welcomed the Huguenots into Brandenburg and had made an alliance with William of Orange.

C. The League of Augsburg, 1686.

Louis' determination to enforce his sister-in-law's claims to the Palatinate¹ was the immediate cause of the formation of the League of Augsburg, which, although largely due to William of Orange, was a defensive league of the Empire against France.

July, 1686. The League was joined by the Emperor, Spain and Sweden as princes of the Empire, the Elector

¹ Above I. A. 4.

of Saxony, the Elector Palatine and the German Circles of Swabia, Franconia, Upper Saxony and Bavaria, and the United Provinces. Pope Innocent XI gave his secret support to the League, which in 1687 was joined by the Duke of Savoy and the Elector of Bavaria, who resented Louis' design of excluding his brother Joseph Clement of Bavaria from the Archbishopric of Cologne.

1689. The Emperor made a treaty with the United Provinces, and the League of Augsburg became the Grand Alliance of Europe against Louis XIV.

D. William of Orange and England.

Opposition to Louis XIV was the life-work of William of Orange. He had tried in vain to induce Charles II to oppose Louis XIV in 1681; the opposition of the burgher aristocracy of Holland to William was weakened by the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes; the League of Augsburg, 1686, was largely due to him. He saw the grave danger to Western Europe and Protestantism of a close union between Louis and James II and realised that "the safety of Europe and of his own country was bound up with bringing England into the scale against France." After May, 1687, he intrigued with the English opposition against James II; the birth of the Old Pretender on June 10th, 1688, and the trial of the Seven Bishops¹ aroused strong feeling, and on June 30th an invitation was sent to William to come to England with an army to restore national liberty and protect the Protestant religion. William landed in Torbay on November 5th, 1688, and on February 13th, 1689, accepted the crown of England for himself and his wife. His main object in doing so was to ensure the active help of England in the impending struggle with Louis.

If James II could retain the throne of England, Louis might secure the assistance of the English army and fleet. The succession to the English throne had become

¹ *Notes on British History*, Part III, page 491.

a matter of supreme importance to Europe, for except Denmark, his only ally, Western Europe was united against Louis ; and the capture of Belgrade from the Turks in 1688 greatly lessened the danger to the Emperor's eastern dominions. But Louis, anxious to show James II that the support of France was essential, made no effort to prevent William from sailing from Holland, and the rapid success of William greatly disconcerted him.

III. The War.

A. The Declarations of War.

(1) The Emperor.

September 24th, 1688. Louis declared war against the Emperor because, he asserted, the Emperor proposed to make peace with the Turks and to attack France ; because the Emperor had unjustly supported Philip William, the Elector Palatine, against the Duchess of Orleans, and supported Clement of Bavaria against von Fürstenberg in the struggle for Cologne ; because Louis wished the Emperor to convert the Truce of Ratisbon into a definite peace. Perhaps the last was the reason that weighed most heavily with Louis.

(2) The United Provinces.

November 26th, 1688. Louis declared war against the United Provinces.

(3) Spain.

April 15th, 1689. Louis declared war against Spain.

(4) England.

July 25th, 1689. Louis declared war against England.

B. Louis XIV's great mistake.

Louis was in a dilemma. Seignelay, seeing the grave danger to France of an immediate union of England and

the United Provinces, urged Louis to attack Holland and thus prevent William from sailing to England. But Louis was particularly anxious to strengthen the Rhine frontier, to secure the Palatinate for his sister-in-law and to establish Fürstenberg in Cologne, in spite of the recent proclamation of Clement of Bavaria as Archbishop of Cologne by Pope Innocent XI. Louvois urged him to start the war on the Rhine, and on September 25th, 1688, Louis invaded the Palatinate. William of Orange seized the opportunity—"aut nunc aut nunquam"—and by the end of the year the union of England and the United Provinces was assured.

C. The War on land.

(1) In the Netherlands.

The war in the Netherlands was exhausting and uninteresting. Owing to the strong fortification of Lille and Charleroi by Vauban, and of Namur and Mons by Coehorn, operations consisted largely of long sieges. In the field Luxemburg, though a brilliant tactician, could not secure the fruits of his victories; William, although a poor tactician, showed great skill in avoiding the consequences of defeat.

July, 1690. Luxemburg defeated Waldeck at Fleurus.

April, 1691. The French captured Mons.

June, 1692. The French captured Namur.

Luxemburg defeated William III, who was attempting to relieve Namur, at Steinkirk, in August.

July, 1693. Luxemburg defeated William III at Neerwinden.

August, 1695. William recaptured Namur. His greatest military achievement.

(2) On the Rhine.

January, 1689. The French, on the advice of Louvois, again devastated the Palatinate.

The Allies captured Mainz and Bonn.

(3) Italy.

The French general Catinat proved very successful against Victor Amadeus, Duke of Savoy.

1690. Catinat defeated Victor Amadeus at Staffarda ; captured Nice in **1691** ; defeated Victor Amadeus at Marsiglia in **1693**.

1696. Victor Amadeus deserted the Grand Alliance and made the Treaty of Turin with Louis XIV, who confirmed him in the possession of Savoy, Nice, Casale and Pignerolo ; Victor's daughter Marie was to be betrothed to Louis' grandson, the Duke of Burgundy.¹

D. The Naval War.

The French navy was employed in a vain attempt to restore James II, to whom Louis had given a refuge in Paris, to the throne of England, and to support a rising against William III in Ireland.

(1) Beachy Head, **1690**.

June 30th, **1690**. Tourville defeated the English and Dutch fleet off Beachy Head, thus securing the command of the Channel and easy connection with Ireland.

[July 1st, **1690**. William's victory at the Boyne and Ginkel's at Aughrim on July 12th, **1691**, removed all danger from Ireland and enabled William III to leave England and direct the war on the Continent.]

(2) La Hogue, **1692**.

Proposed attack on England from Normandy in co-operation with the English Jacobites. Tourville's fleet to convoy the necessary transports.

May 19th, **1692**. Russell, commanding the Dutch and English fleets, routed Tourville off Cape La Hogue and thus gained for England the command of the seas ; averted the restoration of James II ; saved England from invasion ; broke the naval power of France and

¹ Louis XV was their son, page 604

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inspired the Allies to further efforts on land which prevented Louis from giving the necessary attention to his navy ; enabled the English to secure French colonies in the East and West Indies and to capture much of the French foreign trade.

(3) French privateers.

But French privateers, commanded by Jean Bart and other daring sailors, did much damage to English shipping, and the capture by Tourville of the greater part of the Smyrna fleet off Lagos on June 17th, 1693, was a serious blow.

(4) Brest, 1694.

Failure, largely owing to Marlborough's treachery, of an English naval attack on Brest.

(5) Barcelona, 1694.

The English fleet saved Barcelona from attack by the French under Noailles.

During 1694 1695 the English fleet had secured the command of the Mediterranean ; it had hindered the plans Louis XIV made to conquer Spain and compelled Tourville to take shelter in Toulon.

IV. The Treaty of Ryswick.

A. General conditions.

(1) The weakening of the Grand Alliance.

By 1697 both sides were anxious for peace. The defection of the Duke of Savoy had weakened the Grand Alliance, nullified a plan of Admiral Russell for a combined attack on Toulon, compelled Spain and the Empire to agree to the neutralisation of Italy and enabled Louis XIV to divert to Flanders an army of 30,000 men under Catinat.

(2) William III.

William III was worn out with disease, overburdened by the war, harassed by difficulties in

England and gravely concerned at the great damage done to English and Dutch commerce by French privateers ; but he wished to continue the war, and in 1696 Parliament supported him in his determination to treat with France "only with swords in our hands." But he readily accepted the mediation of Sweden and agreed to the unexpectedly moderate terms with which Louis was content.

(3) Louis XIV.

France was exhausted, taxation had been heavily increased, especially the *taille*, which had been doubled ; "one-tenth of the population was without means of subsistence." All Louis' great ministers were dead, and their successors were incompetent. But the French had gained important successes. Vendôme took Barcelona in August, 1697 ; Catinat had captured some important Spanish towns in Flanders. In spite of the strength of France and the weakness of the Alliance, Louis was anxious to end the war in order to be free to deal with the question of the Spanish Succession, which, in view of the condition of Charles II, was likely to arise soon.

(4) The Emperor Leopold I.

Leopold, who had his own designs on Spain, wished to continue a war which would seriously hamper his rival Louis. He was compelled to make peace by the threat that the United Provinces and England would make a separate peace with France.

B. The Terms.

- (1) France, England, the United Provinces and Spain signed treaties on September 20th, 1697, which provided that—

a. All conquests made since the Peace of Nymwegen should be restored. Thus France regained Pondicherry from the Dutch and Nova Scotia (Acadia) from the English and

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restored Fort Albany to the Hudson's Bay Company.

- b. Louis acknowledged William III as King of Great Britain and Ireland, and Anne was recognised as his heir. Louis promised to give no help to any designs against William III.

Louis was thus forced to abandon, with great reluctance, the cause of James II.

- c. The Dutch were to place garrisons in some of the Spanish Barrier Towns and received important commercial concessions.

(2) France and the Empire signed a treaty on October 30th, 1697.

- a. France restored all her conquests made since the Peace of Nymwegen except Alsace and the towns of Strasburg and Landau. Philipsburg, Freiburg and Breisach were restored.
- b. Clement of Bavaria was recognised as Archbishop and Elector of Cologne.
- c. The Duchess of Orleans gave up her claim on the Palatinate in return for a payment of 200,000 francs per annum from the Elector Palatine Philip William.
- d. Lorraine, except Saarlouis, was restored to the young Duke Leopold.

C. Criticism.

(1) France.

The Allies had good reason to be satisfied with the Treaty of Ryswick, although William III strongly protested against the cession of Strasburg to France and wished to continue the war on account of it. Although she gained Strasburg, France for the first time since the ministry of Richelieu had lost ground.

But the Treaty gave France time to recover to some extent her strength before the inevitable War of the

Spanish Succession broke out. The Grand Alliance was broken up, and France still remained the strongest and most united power in Europe.

(2) England.

England was saved from a second Stuart Restoration, liberated from French interference and left free to follow the colonial policy which was to prove so successful in the eighteenth century ; the personal duel between William III and Louis XIV " had become a national duel between England and France " in which the former possessed the great advantage of the command of the sea.

(3) The United Provinces.

The United Provinces were saved from France, and their possession of some of the barrier fortresses was destined very soon to prove of great value for defence.

(4) Germany.

The suspicion which rendered the Emperor Leopold I unwilling to make terms with Louis was fully justified in the near future. The possession of Strasburg gave France a strong position on the Rhine ; that position would have been stronger if she had not been compelled to give Cologne and the Palatinate to German princes.

References :

- The Ascendancy of France* (Wakeman), Rivingtons, chap. XI
The Cambridge Modern History, Vol. V, chap. II.
History of France (Kitchin), Vol. III, Book V, chap. v.

SECTION XVIII
SPAIN IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

PHILIP III, 1598-1621

I. Foreign Policy.

In spite of the decline in her prosperity and power which had begun under Philip II, the great traditions of Charles V and of Philip II's earlier years gave Spain prestige which continued under Philip III. He believed that Spain was to exercise supremacy and defend the cause of Catholicism in Western Europe; Catholic sovereigns such as the Emperors Rudolf and Ferdinand II looked to him for help; he continued to fight against the Dutch because they were rebels as well as heretics. James I of England, dazzled by the glamour of Spain's former glory, was anxious to conclude an alliance. Philip III determined to adopt an active foreign policy and to assert the position of Spain as the leading power in Christendom. But the growing weakness of the country impeded his efforts, and the cost of his military and naval undertakings plunged Spain into more complete ruin.

A. France.

The murder, in 1610, of Henry IV, whose opposition to the Hapsburgs constituted a real danger to Spain, and the strong leaning of Mary de' Medici towards Spain, the arrangement in 1612 for the marriages of Louis XIII to Philip III's daughter Anne and of Philip's son Philip (IV) to Louis' sister Elizabeth established friendly relations between France and Spain.

B. England.

(1) Elizabeth.

Philip II's enmity to England continued to the end of his reign. But his attempts to send a second and

third Armada in **1596** and **1597** had utterly failed. Philip III continued his father's attempt to force Catholicism and a new sovereign on England, which had now become strong enough to resist any attack.

1600. Philip determined to support Tyrone's rebellion in Ireland. A Spanish force landed at Kinsale in **1601**, where they were blockaded by an English squadron and utterly routed by Mountjoy in **1602**.

Proposals to support the Infanta Isabel Clara Eugenia, wife of the Archduke Albert,¹ came to nothing; arrangements for Spinola to lead a Spanish force into England on Elizabeth's death were nullified by Cecil's measures to secure the accession of James I.

(2) James I.

August, **1604**. Peace made between England and Spain. From **1614** James I negotiated for a marriage between Charles, Prince of Wales, to a Spanish princess. These negotiations led to the execution, in **1618**, of Raleigh, really for attacking the Spaniards in the West Indies, nominally for other reasons; to the desire of James to mediate and not intervene in the Thirty Years' War, although the territory of his son-in-law the Elector Palatine was overrun by the Spaniards under Spinola in **1620**, and the English Parliament strongly advocated war with Spain.

C. The United Provinces.²

Philip persisted in the attempt to force Catholicism on the United Provinces and by the treaty with England in **1604** isolated the Dutch. But Spinola was greatly hampered by the inability of Philip III to send him sufficient money and men, and the King was obliged to agree to the truce of **1609** and thus abandoned the traditional policy of Charles V and Philip II, which aimed at the forcible religious unification of Christendom on Spanish lines.

¹ Page 302.

² *Ibid.*

D. Italy.

Philip III, as master of Milan and Naples, was interested in Italian politics and anxious to secure an overland route between Milan and the Netherlands.

(1) The Valtelline.

1620. The Spaniards, anxious to secure the Valtelline,¹ connived at the massacre of the Protestant inhabitants and seized the chief strongholds of the Valtelline.

(2) Savoy.

1614-1617. War between Charles Emmanuel of Savoy, who tried to seize Montferrat, and Spain. Charles Emmanuel was defeated at Vercelli, and peace was made on condition of a restoration of conquests.

(3) Venice.

Venice was afraid of Milan and seized every opportunity of weakening the Spanish power in Italy. Venice, although nominally at peace with Spain, supported the Duke of Savoy.

1617. Osuna, the Viceroy of Naples, anxious to punish Venice for supporting the Duke of Savoy, defeated the Venetian fleet and may have formed a plan to seize and pillage Venice. His attempt failed.

E. The Thirty Years' War.

Philip III favoured the Hapsburg and Catholic cause ; made an alliance with the Emperor Ferdinand II, the Pope and the Catholic League ; sent money and 7000 troops in **1619** to support Ferdinand in Bohemia ; induced James I to abstain from interfering, and sent Spinola to ravage the Palatinate in **1620**.

F. The Turks.

The truce with the United Provinces enabled Philip to devote himself to the Turks, whose ravages, although checked by Osuna when Viceroy of Sicily, did great damage to Spain and Spanish possessions in Italy.

1609. The destruction of the Turkish fleet at Tunis.

¹ Page 345.

II. The Condition of Spain.

A. Finances.

Philip's minister Lerma utterly failed to appreciate the need of reviving manufactures, trade and agriculture, which had decayed partly owing to the large revenues derived from the American colonies, the uncertainty in national life caused by the Inquisition and the feeling that industry was below the dignity of a Spaniard. In Philip's reign the decline of Spain was hastened by the expulsion of the Moriscoes and Lerma's extravagance.

B. The expulsion of the Moriscoes, 1609-1610.

Many Moors had accepted Christianity and so secured permission to remain in Spain. These "new Christians" were industrious, and their skill in manufactures, crafts and agriculture gained for them the means of paying the heavy taxes imposed upon them which formed a large part of the royal revenue. But they were denounced by the clergy as doubtful Christians, suspected of helping the Turkish raids in Valencia, known to have sought the help of Elizabeth, envied by the lazy for the prosperity their industry had ensured.

September, 1609. Philip III ordered that the Moriscoes, with very few exceptions, were to be sent to Africa taking only their personal property. Before March, 1610, at least 150,000 Moriscoes were driven from Valencia alone, the great fertility of which was due to their labours, and about half a million in all left the country. Their departure dealt a deadly blow to industry and agriculture, "practically killed all the higher handicrafts in Spain," greatly diminished the amount derived from taxation.

C. The Duke of Lerma.

Lerma had obtained a complete mastery over Philip III, who spent his time in devotion and amusement and left the government almost entirely to his

minister. The cost of warfare, the gross extravagance of Lerma and Philip, the debasement of the coinage for which Lerma was responsible, the increase of the *alcabala* (a tax on sales) and of the excise upon food were some of the causes which ruined the country.

PHILIP IV, 1621-1665

The long reign of Philip IV is a melancholy story of decadence at home and failure abroad. Like his predecessors he failed to see that Spain could be restored, if at all, only by the revival of industry and agriculture; the glamour of his country's past blinded him to her present weakness and led him into undertakings which he had no means of carrying out successfully.

Gaspar de Guzman, Count of Olivares, acquired control over the boy King, who was only sixteen at his succession. In later years the King's indolence and love of pleasure left everything to his minister until the fall of Olivares in 1643.

I. Foreign Policy.

A. England.

(1) Failure of the Spanish marriage.

1621. The English Parliament protested against the proposed Spanish marriage, but James I persisted in the ridiculous hope that by such a marriage the "most Catholic" King of Spain might be induced to support the return to the Palatinate of the Protestant Elector Frederick.

1623. Journey of Charles and Buckingham to Madrid. Philip IV refused to help to restore the Elector because "it is a maxim of state that the King of Spain must never fight against the Emperor."

(2) War.

1625. The English failed to take Cadiz or to capture the Plate fleet.

1630. Peace made between England and Spain.

B. France.

Richelieu carried on Henry IV's policy of hostility to the Hapsburgs.

(1) The Valtelline.

1622. The Spaniards again attacked the Valtelline. France and Savoy defended it.

1626. The Treaty of Monzon.¹

(2) Mantua and Montferrat.

1631. Spain failed to secure Mantua and was compelled to agree to the humiliating Peace of Cherasco.²

(3) War.

1633. On the death of the Infanta Isabel Clara Eugenia, daughter of Philip II, the Spanish Netherlands reverted to Spain. Philip IV appointed his brother, the Cardinal Infante Ferdinand, Governor. Ferdinand helped the Emperor Ferdinand II to win the battle of Nördlingen, **1634**,³ and in **1635** the Spaniards seized the Elector of Trèves, who was under the protection of France. Therefore

1635. Richelieu declared war against Spain.⁴

"Thenceforward Spain was not only fighting for Catholicism and the Imperial house, but was engaged in a death-struggle with Richelieu for the preservation of Flanders and for the maintenance of her own prestige in Europe."⁵

1659. The Peace of the Pyrenees. Spain lost Roussillon and Cerdagne.

C. The United Provinces.

1621. End of the twelve years' truce between the United Provinces and Spain. Renewal of war.⁶

1648. The Treaty of Münster. Spain recognises the independence of the Netherlands.

¹ Page 346.

² Page 348.

³ Page 404.

⁴ For details, see page 407.

⁵ *Cambridge Modern History*.

⁶ For details, see page 509.

D. The Thirty Years' War.

The renewal of the Dutch war prevented Philip IV from rendering much help to the Imperialists during the Thirty Years' War.

E. Naples.

1646. The imposition of a tax on fruit caused great distress among the poor and led, in July, **1647**, to a rising under Masaniello, a young fisherman. The Viceroy, Arcos, fled ; but the excesses of the rebels led to the murder of Masaniello by the supporters of Spain and the speedy suppression of the revolt.

II. Events in Spain.

A. The revolt of Catalonia.

The privileges of the free Parliaments of Valencia, Aragon and Catalonia limited the financial demands the King of Spain could legally make from them and prevented the close union of all parts of Spain. In **1626**, at Olivares' suggestion, Philip forced them to make larger grants than usual. His action caused great dissatisfaction, and henceforward Olivares had to contend with the strong opposition of the Parliaments, who wished to maintain their provincial rights against the Crown.

(1) The rising in 1640.

Although in **1639** the Catalans had bravely repelled a French invasion of Roussillon, Philip required them in **1640**, contrary to their privileges, to find billets for Castilian troops. This action and the savagery of the Castilians provoked a revolt in **1640** ; the Viceroy was murdered, Barcelona was successfully defended against a Castilian force under Los Velez, help was obtained from France and the sovereignty of Louis XIII over Catalonia was admitted. The Catalans now helped the French to conquer Roussillon in **1642**.

EUROPEAN HISTORY

1650. Philip captured Tortosa.

1652. The revolt of Catalonia ended with the submission of Barcelona after a siege of fifteen months.

B. Portugal.

1636. Unsuccessful rising in Portugal owing to heavy taxes imposed by Olivarez.

1640. The Duke of Braganza, profiting by the revolt of Catalonia, assumed the crown of Portugal [but an attempt of the Duke of Medina Sidonia, a kinsman of Olivares, to make himself King of Andalusia failed]. The Portuguese held out successfully, and by the victories of Evora in **1663** and Villa Viciosa in **1665** secured their independence, although it was not formally recognised by Philip IV.

C. The Fall of Olivares.

The attempt of Olivares to weaken provincial liberties had led to the revolts in Catalonia and Portugal which were the chief cause of his fall. During the absence of Philip for a campaign in Catalonia, in **1642**, Queen Maria Anne of Austria,¹ a strong opponent of Olivares, won over Madrid. Olivares was dismissed in **1643**. His successor, Don Luis de Haro, failed to achieve the impossible task of restoring the fortunes of Spain.

D. The decline of Spain.

Under Philip IV Spain grew weaker. Financial embarrassment was increased by the cost of provincial and foreign wars; the reckless extravagance of the nobles; the limitations on foreign trade which were caused partly by war, partly by protection; the contraband trade that was established between Spanish colonies and the enemies of Spain. Failure in war, particularly the defeat at Rocroi in **1643**,² ruined the military reputation of Spain and led to the cession of Roussillon and Cerdagne

¹ Daughter of the Emperor Ferdinand III.

² Page 411

to France and the independence of Portugal and the United Provinces. The indolence of the King and the inefficiency of his ministers prevented them from averting the ruin of their country. National tone deteriorated; immorality increased, partly owing to the example of the King; "everywhere was pretence, affectation, sloth, and debauchery"; nothing but unwarranted pride remained.

E. Literature and Art.

In spite of adverse political and social conditions, Literature and Art flourished under Philip III and Philip IV.

(1) Literature.

The decadence of the nation supplied material for the witty satire of Cervantes (who published *Don Quixote* in 1605), Quovedo and Guevara, and for picaresque tales such as *Lazarillo de Tormes*. Spanish drama reached its height in the plays of Lope de Vega and Calderon; many books dealing with travel, seaman-ship and warfare were published. Spanish literature exercised a great influence on the later drama in France and England, and both Molière and Dryden owed much to Spain; the picaresque novel, the affected style of Guevara, the tales of adventure had a marked influence on the development of English literature.

(2) Art.

Under Philip IV, the patron of Velasquez, Zurbaran, Murillo and Ribera, the schools of Madrid and Seville produced their greatest works.

References :

Cambridge Modern History, Vol. III, chap. xvi;
Vol. IV, chap. xxii.

Spain (Martin Hume).

THE PROBLEM OF THE SPANISH SUCCESSION

I. Charles II.

The revolt of Portugal in 1640, the failure of Philip IV to reconquer it between 1661-1665, the capture of Jamaica by the English in 1655 and the terms of the Peace of the Pyrenees¹ showed how weak Spain had become under Philip IV. Under his son Charles II (1665-1700) Spain sank to the lowest point ever touched in her history.

A. Parties.

The health of Charles II was so feeble that it seemed impossible for him to live long; he took little part in the government of the country, which was distracted by the quarrels of different parties each of which tried to induce the feeble King to meet their wishes. The Austrian party was led by the Queen-Mother, Maria Anne, daughter of the Emperor Ferdinand III, and after 1690 by Charles' second wife, Maria Anne of Neuburg, the sister-in-law of the Emperor Leopold I. The Spanish party, led by Philip IV's illegitimate son, Don John, strongly opposed the Queen-Mother; overthrew her in 1676, but was unable to prevent her return to power after the death of Don John in 1679. The French party, formed towards the end of the reign by Harcourt, the French ambassador, was supported by many Spaniards, who hated the Austrians and objected to any division of the Spanish dominions, and especially by Cardinal Porto-Carrero, Archbishop of Toledo.

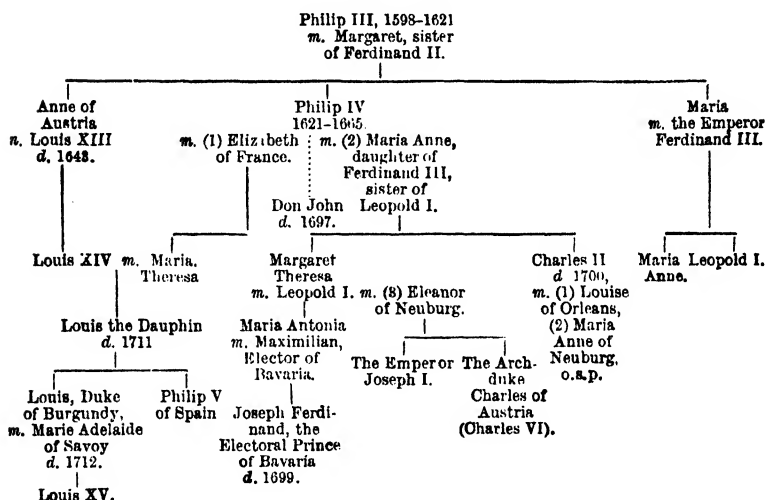
B. The designs of Louis XIV.

Louis' plan to secure Spanish territory for France was facilitated by internal dissension and by the fact

¹ Page 360.

that Charles II had no children and seemed likely to die at any time. Common danger from France led to union between the old enemies Spain and the United Provinces, who made the first of a number of alliances in 1671 and fought against France in the Wars of Devolution and the League of Augsburg.

II. The Claimants to the Crown of Spain.



Several relatives of the childless Charles II claimed the succession to the crown of Spain, which could pass to females.

A. Louis XIV.

Louis XIV was a first cousin of Charles II. His mother had renounced all rights to the Spanish Succession on her marriage to Louis XIII in 1615. Maria Theresa, Charles II's half-sister, had married Louis XIV in 1660 and had renounced her rights to the Spanish

Succession on condition of receiving a dowry of 500,000 crowns. The dowry had not been paid, and Louis XIV therefore claimed that his wife's renunciation was invalid. This claim was admitted by Leopold I when he made the Treaty of Partition with Louis XIV in 1668.¹

To avoid the union of the crowns of France and Spain Louis passed his claims on to his grandson, Philip of Anjou, the second son of the Dauphin, who became Philip V of Spain.

B. The Emperor Leopold I.

Leopold I was also a first cousin of Charles II. His mother, Maria, daughter of Philip III, had not renounced her rights to the Spanish Succession when she married the Emperor Ferdinand III. Leopold, in spite of his admissions in 1668, now insisted on the validity of the renunciation of Queen Maria Theresa of France, and claimed the Spanish throne as the next heir.

To avoid the union of the thrones of Austria and Spain he passed his claim on to his second son, the Archduke Charles of Austria.²

C. The Electoral Prince of Bavaria.

Leopold married the Infanta Margaret Theresa, the presumptive heiress of Charles II, who had made no renunciation of her rights. Their only child, Maria Antonia, had married Maximilian, Elector of Bavaria, and had been compelled by Leopold to renounce, on her marriage, the rights to the crown of Spain that she derived from her mother. But this renunciation had never been ratified by the King or Cortes of Spain, and her little son, Joseph Ferdinand, the Electoral Prince of Bavaria, born in 1692, became a claimant to the Spanish throne.

¹ Page 522.

² Later the Emperor Charles VI, and the father of Maria Theresa.

III. Difficult Questions.

A. Legal.

The legal question was very difficult. If the renunciations made by Queens Anne and Maria Theresa of France and the Electress Maria Antonia were valid, Leopold I had the best claim to the succession to all the Spanish dominions. If the renunciations of the last two were invalid—and it was very doubtful if they were binding on the descendants of those who made them—the Dauphin had undoubtedly the legal right to succeed to all the territory of Charles II.

B. Political.

- (1) Strong opposition to the French and Austrian candidates.

France objected to the accession of the Archduke Charles, Austria to the accession of Philip of Anjou; England, the German princes and the United Provinces, remembering the attempts made to dominate Western Europe by the Hapsburgs in the sixteenth century and by Louis XIV in recent years, strongly objected to the accession of either of these claimants, which would endanger the Balance of Power in Europe by the closer union of either France and Spain or Austria and Spain.

- (2) The break-up of the Spanish power.

In spite of her growing weakness Spain had retained during the seventeenth century her colonial empire and her possessions on the Mediterranean. She had become too weak to be a source of danger, and from **1665** was "a monarchy without a King." The rest of Europe was too busy up to **1648** with religious wars, and after **1648** with problems arising out of the Peace of Westphalia to attempt to secure portions of the Spanish Empire. But conditions had changed, and the nations of Europe, seeing that a dissolution of the Spanish Empire seemed imminent, desired a share of the spoils.

a. The Maritime Powers.

England and the United Provinces had, during much of the seventeenth century, carried on a lucrative export trade to Spain, established a great carrying trade between Spain and other countries and secured in payment for their services a large proportion of the bullion sent by the New World to Spain. They had built up also a considerable trade with the Baltic, North America and the East. But they were not permitted to trade direct with the Spanish Indies and to share in the profitable slave trade ; their trade in the Mediterranean was hampered by lack of ports of their own. They wished to secure the right of trading with the West Indies and to exclude France from competing with their direct trade with Spain.

“ The preservation of the commerce between the kingdoms of Great Britain and Spain was one of the chief motives ” that led England to join in the War of the Spanish Succession.

b. The Empire.

The Emperor Leopold was anxious to secure territory in the north of Italy to make up for what he had lost on the Rhine and to give him access to the Mediterranean.

c. France.

France was determined to secure such of the Spanish possessions as would strengthen her frontiers and to prevent the union of Austria and Northern Italy.

d. Holland.

The United Provinces, after 1697 one of the Great Powers of Europe, would object to any concessions which would strengthen France in the Netherlands, and thus threaten the safety of Amsterdam and the command of the Scheldt.

e. The Spaniards.

The Spaniards, proud of the past glories of their Empire, would strongly oppose any scheme of partition. "They will rather," wrote Stanhope, "deliver themselves up to the French or the devil, so they may all go together, than be dismembered."

IV. The First Partition Treaty, 1698.

Louis, realising that any attempt to enforce the claim of the Duke of Anjou would lead to a European war, tried to secure a partition of the Spanish Empire between the rival candidates. In 1698 he sent the Marquis d'Harcourt to represent him at Madrid, and Tallard to London. Dean Kitchin says that Louis was determined to secure all the Spanish dominions for his grandson, and that the negotiations which led to the Partition Treaties were "part of a pretty game played skilfully by the French King, to quiet and delude England and Holland, to paralyse the Emperor and to incline the Spaniards towards the French interests."¹ There is no doubt that Harcourt was endeavouring at Madrid to ensure the accession of Philip, while Tallard was negotiating with William III and the United Provinces for partition. But in September, 1698, Harcourt reported that, although the Spanish people would welcome Philip, none of the Grandees except Porto-Carrero would support him. Louis therefore agreed to the First Partition Treaty.

A. Terms of the Treaty.

October 10th, 1698. The First Partition Treaty provided that—

- (1) The Electoral Prince of Bavaria should have Spain, the Spanish Netherlands and the Indies.

¹ *History of France*, Vol. III, page 282.

- (2) The Dauphin was to receive Naples and Sicily, the ports of Tuscany and Guipuscoa, St. Sebastian and Fuentarabia.
- (3) The Archduke Charles was to have the Milanese and Luxemburg.

B. Criticism.

Louis XIV was pleased at the exclusion of the Archduke Charles ; William III and the Dutch at the exclusion of Philip ; France gained a strong position on the Mediterranean ; the Dutch rejoiced that the Barrier Fortresses were saved from the French ; if war broke out with Charles II the possession of Guipuscoa would facilitate a French invasion of Spain.

C. The First Will of Charles II.

The proposed partition aroused great indignation in Spain.

November, 1698. Charles made a will leaving all his dominions to the Electoral Prince. This will was a counter-stroke to the Partition Treaty and an attempt to preserve the unity of the Spanish Empire.

February 6th, 1699. Death of the Electoral Prince at the age of six, probably of smallpox—with some suspicion of poison.

V. The Second Partition Treaty, 1700.

The death of the Electoral Prince nullified the First Partition Treaty. The claims of the Archduke Charles were supported at Madrid by the Austrian party and the Queen, and opposed by the French party which Harcourt's skilful diplomacy had established. Louis refused to sanction the election of the Elector of Bavaria ; William III and the Dutch refused to agree to any plan which would give the Spanish Indies and the Netherlands to a French prince.

April, 1700. The Second Partition Treaty was made at The Hague between William III, the United Provinces and Louis XIV.

A. Terms.

- (1) The Archduke Charles was to receive Spain, the Indies and the Netherlands.
- (2) The Dauphin was to receive Naples and Sicily, the Tuscan ports, Guipuscoa and the Milanese, which was to be exchanged for Lorraine.

B. Criticism.

(1) Austria.

The union of Spain and Austria seemed dangerous to the peace of Europe. But Spain was very weak ; its population had declined from about 20,000,000 in the beginning of the sixteenth century to about 8,000,000 ; its finances were so embarrassed that it was difficult to meet the expense of the Court ; Austria was bankrupt. The Austro-Spanish territory was extensive but divided into four separate parts—Austria, Spain, the Indies and the Netherlands ; the united fleets of France, England and the United Provinces and the French territory in the Milanese and on the Rhine could prevent effective combination between these parts.

(2) France.

France profited greatly. The possession of the Tuscan ports, Naples and Sicily greatly increased her power in the Mediterranean ; the acquisition of Lorraine strengthened her eastern frontier ; the Duke of Lorraine, an ally of France, was to hold the Milanese and could hinder overland communication through the Valtelline between Spain and the Netherlands and check the Spanish power in the North of Italy. France and her allies had absolute command of the seas, and the alliance with the Maritime Powers was of great value to Louis XIV. If the treaty had been carried out it would have made France the dominant power in Europe.

(3) England.

The Partition Treaties, made not by Parliament but secretly by William III, were unpopular in England. Englishmen failed to appreciate the danger to Europe that would follow the aggrandisement of France or Austria; many objected to foreign interference in Spain. William III was very unpopular; he quarrelled with Parliament, which reduced the army from 80,000 to 7000 men and dismissed the King's Dutch guards in 1699; his position was weakened, and this partly explains why he agreed to the Second Partition Treaty which gave such advantages to France.

(4) The United Provinces.

Strong opposition to the treaty was expressed by the Dutch, especially the traders of Amsterdam and the anti-Orange party.

(5) The Emperor.

In spite of the great additions the treaty made to Austrian territory, and in spite of his poverty, the Emperor, who hoped through his sister-in-law Queen Maria to induce Charles II to leave all his dominions to the Archduke Charles, refused to accept the treaty.

(6) Other Powers.

Prussia agreed to the treaty on condition of the recognition of her newly established kingdom; so did the Pope and Venice, which commanded the passes of the Austrian Alps; Victor Amadeus of Savoy remained neutral in the hope that if war broke out Louis XIV would purchase his assistance by large concessions.

VI. The Second Will of Charles II, October, 1700.

A. Philip of Anjou heir to the Spanish Empire.

Charles had not been consulted about the treaty and on hearing of it "flew into an extraordinary passion, and the Queen in her rage smashed to pieces everything

in her room." The King was now seized with his last illness, and largely owing to the influence of Porto-Carrero, and thinking that only France was strong enough to hold all his dominions, tried to preserve the integrity of the Spanish Empire by leaving it all by will to Philip of Anjou in October, 1700.

November 1st, 1700. Death of Charles II.

B. Louis XIV accepts the Will.

(1) Louis' engagement with William III and the Dutch.

Louis was morally bound to carry out the Second Partition Treaty, and, as Tallard and Beauvilliers pointed out, his acceptance of the second will of Charles II would be a serious breach of faith with William III and Holland.

(2) Arguments in favour of the Will.

But, in view of the strong feeling in Spain and France in favour of the succession of Philip, any attempt to put the Archduke Charles on the Spanish throne would have led to war in Spain and strong opposition in France; the power of Austria, the old opponent of France, would have been greatly increased; Louis would have refused to profit by the final success of a policy he had steadily pursued for nearly fifty years and would have neglected a great opportunity of promoting the interests of his family; and it seemed unreasonable to go to war with Spain because she had offered her crown to a French prince. The transfer of Naples, Sicily and the Tuscan ports to the Dauphin and of the Milanese to the Duke of Lorraine would have led to great difficulties, and if Louis went to war to enforce the Second Partition Treaty, which was unpopular in England and the United Provinces, he could not count on the support of the Maritime Powers.

(3) War seemed inevitable.

If Louis accepted the will war with Austria was

certain, and such a war might involve other nations. But "it was urged by Torcy that the question lay not between war and peace, but between one war and another,"¹ and that if the will which gave the whole of the Spanish dominions to Philip were rejected France would find difficulty in enforcing a claim to any part of the Empire.

Louis therefore, strongly urged by the Dauphin and Madame de Maintenon, accepted the will and on November 16th, 1700, presented his grandson to the French courtiers with the words, "Gentlemen, here is the King of Spain."

(4) Criticism of Louis' action.

Although in accepting the will Louis broke faith with William III and the Dutch, political conditions justified his action.

C. Philip generally recognised as King of Spain.

(1) England and the United Provinces.

William and Heinsius, the Grand Pensionary of Holland, felt that war was necessary owing to the grave danger caused by the union of France and Spain in one family, and the famous saying of the Spanish ambassador,² "Il n'y a plus de Pyrénées," emphasised the danger. But the English and Dutch would not face a renewal of war, and, as William wrote to Heinsius, in England "nearly everybody congratulates himself that France has preferred the will to the treaty, insisting that it is much better for England and for the whole of Europe." In April, 1701, William III sent a letter to "his very dear brother" Philip V, congratulating him on his accession.

(2) Spain.

February, 1701. Philip entered Madrid, with Harcourt as head of his council, and was enthusiastically received by his new subjects.

¹ *Modern Europe*, Dyer and Hassall, Vol. IV, page 76.

² Not, apparently, Louis XIV.

(3) Bavaria.

The Elector of Bavaria, now Governor of the Spanish Netherlands, accepted Philip partly in the hope that Louis would make his governorship hereditary, partly because he suspected the Emperor of having poisoned his son, the Electoral Prince.

(4) Savoy.

The Duke of Savoy, whose younger daughter, Louise Gabrielle, married Philip V in September, 1701, supported his son-in-law.

(5) Other support.

Philip was also recognised by some German princes : the Elector of Cologne, the brother of the Elector of Bavaria, the Duke of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel, the Bishop of Münster ; by Portugal, which in 1701 concluded a treaty with Spain.

(6) The Emperor.

The Emperor strongly protested against the will and soon entered into secret negotiations with William III against France ; he won over Frederick III, Elector of Brandenburg, by recognising him as King in Prussia, and was supported by all the Electors of Germany except those of Cologne and Bavaria. But difficulties in Hungary and the poverty of Austria prevented him from making an immediate declaration of war on France.

VII. The Immediate Causes of the War of the Spanish Succession

Philip V had obtained the crown of Spain. In order that he might be firmly established it was essential that Louis should pursue a moderate policy and should not aggravate the difficulties that were sure to arise with Austria by rousing the antagonism of other countries, and especially the Maritime Powers. Instead of doing this he foolishly adopted an aggressive policy.

A. Philip of Anjou and France.

December, **1700**. In spite of his solemn promise that the crowns of France and Spain should never be united he publicly acknowledged the rights of Philip of Anjou and his sons to the French throne.

B. The Barrier Fortresses.

February, **1701**. Louis seized the Barrier Fortresses in the Spanish Netherlands, replaced their Dutch garrisons with French troops. When the Dutch protested, Louis asserted that the Peace of Ryswick,¹ which had given the fortresses to France, was to determine future relations between France and the United Provinces.

C. Commerce.

English and Dutch merchants were greatly irritated to find that Louis was trying to exclude them from all trade with the Spanish Indies.

D. Louis recognises the Old Pretender.

September 6th, **1701**. Death of James II. In defiance of the Treaty of Ryswick and of the Act of Settlement, **1701**, which guaranteed the Protestant succession in England, Louis recognised his son James, the Old Pretender, as James III of England.

By injuring the commerce and threatening the national security of the Maritime Powers Louis enabled William III to secure the strong support of England and the United Provinces in armed resistance to France. In **1702** the English Parliament, realising that war was inevitable, raised the strength of the army and navy to 40,000 men each. On September 7th, **1701**, England, the United Provinces and the Empire made the Grand Alliance against France in order

- (1) To prevent the union of France and Spain.

¹ Page 542.

- (2) To obtain compensation for the Emperor for the loss of the Spanish dominions.
- (3) To ensure the safety of the United Provinces by conquering the Spanish Netherlands.
- (4) To protect English and Dutch commerce.

References :

The Ascendancy of France (Wakeman), Rivingtons, chap. xiv.
History of France (Kitchin), Vol. III, Book V, chap. vi.
Cambridge Modern History, Vol. V, pp. 379-400.
Modern Europe (Dyer and Hassall), Vol. III, chap. xl.

THE WAR OF THE SPANISH SUCCESSION

May 4th, 1702. The Grand Alliance declared war on France and Spain. The war was fought in Italy to secure the Milanese ; in the Netherlands for the Barrier Fortresses ; in Germany largely for the control of the Danube ; in Spain for the crown.

France was inferior to the Allies in men and money, but derived great advantage from unity of command and the control of the inner lines of communication. The possession of the Barrier Fortresses and the alliance with Bavaria enabled her to threaten Holland and Austria and to interrupt the lines of communication of her opponents, who were hampered by diversity of command, difficulty of concentration and, to some extent, difference of interest. The possession of the ports of Spain, France and, until 1703, Portugal gave France and Spain an advantage in naval warfare. The French and Spanish generals were good. In Marlborough the Allies had the greatest general of his age, a master of strategy and tactics, sound in judgment, prompt in action, who " never besieged a fortress that he did not take, nor fought a battle that he did not win." Eugene was inferior to Marlborough alone. France was hampered by the faulty administration of

Chamillart, but showed, and especially in 1709, that she was capable of heroic effort in time of disaster. The risings of the Camisards in France and the Catalans and Valencians in Spain seriously hampered the cause which the majority of their fellow-countrymen supported.

I. Italy.

The operations in Italy were secondary to those in other fields of the war and centred largely round the Milanese, which their alliance with the Duke of Savoy enabled the French to seize. Eugene marched from the Tyrol into Italy.

A. 1701.

August. Eugene passed down the Adige and drove Catinat back to the Oglio to save Milan.

September. Villeroi, "a good dancer but an indifferent general," replaced Catinat, but was routed at Chiari.

B. 1702.

February. Eugene defeated and captured Villeroi at Cremona.

August. Vendôme routed the Austrians at Luzzara and secured the Duchy of Mantua.

C. 1703.

Eugene was driven back to the Adige and threatened by Maximilian Emmanuel of Bavaria from the north and Vendôme from the south.

November. Victor Amadeus of Savoy joined the Grand Alliance. His defection greatly weakened the French cause in Northern Italy, threatened Vendôme's lines of communication, compelled him to fall back to Piedmont and therefore saved Eugene from probable defeat.

D. 1705.

August. Vendôme, who had secured Pinerolo and overrun Piedmont, defeated at Cassano Eugene, who

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had entered Italy to protect the Duke of Savoy and Turin. Departure of Eugene to Vienna owing to the death of the Emperor Leopold I.

E. 1706.

September. The continued success of Vendôme threatened Turin. Eugene returned with reinforcements, joined the Duke of Savoy and utterly routed Marsin at Turin. The French evacuated Piedmont, and by the Convention of Milan, March, 1707, Louis XIV gave up all claims to Northern Italy.

II. The Netherlands.

Marlborough was appointed commander-in-chief of the Dutch and English armies. He saw that Austria was in grave danger and aimed at securing the Lower Rhine in order to get into touch with the Imperial armies on the Upper Rhine and Danube. But the Dutch field deputies who accompanied him were naturally anxious for the capture of the Barrier Fortresses which threatened Amsterdam, and had little sympathy with Marlborough's wider, and wiser, plans.

A. The safety of Holland ensured.

(1) 1702.

September-October. Marlborough took Venloo, Ruremonde and Liège, thus securing the line of the Meuse, and part of Guelderland. But he did not strike further at the French in the Netherlands, as his ultimate aim was Vienna.

June. The English, with Prussian help, took Kaiserwerth and thus established themselves on the Lower Rhine, and took the first step towards establishing communications with Austria.

(2) 1703.

May. Marlborough, leaving the Dutch to attack Antwerp and the line of the Scheldt, overran the

Electorate of Cologne and seized Bonn. He now hoped to establish communications with the Emperor's troops by organising a German army on the Moselle, but was compelled to return to save the Dutch, whose army under Opdam had been routed at Eckeren in June.

B. 1705.

(1) Marlborough's plan for the invasion of France.

His great victory at Blenheim on August 13th, **1704**, had made the war popular in England, strengthened Marlborough's position and compelled the French to act on the defensive. Marlborough arranged with the Imperialists to advance down the Moselle, thus turning the flank of the Barrier Fortresses, and then to invade France and march on Paris. But the slowness of the Imperial general, Louis of Baden, and the withdrawal of the Imperial troops owing to the death of the Emperor ruined Marlborough's great plan; while the suppression of the Camisards,¹ or Huguenots of the Cevennes, who under the leadership of Cavalier had been in revolt since **1703**, enabled Louis XIV to send reinforcements under Villars to the Netherlands.

(2) Marlborough's operations in the Netherlands.

Marlborough relieved Liège, which was besieged by Villeroi and the Elector of Bavaria; broke at Tirlemont the strong lines of Mehaigne and threatened Brussels. Greatly to his disgust the Dutch refused to allow him to fight the defeated French at Waterloo.

C. 1706. The Annus Mirabilis of the Grand Alliance.²

May. Marlborough, prevented by the Dutch from helping Eugene in Italy, utterly routed Villeroi at Ramillies, drove the French back to the Lys, captured Brabant and much of Flanders; took, by the beginning

¹ So called from the white shirt (Fr. *chemise*) they wore over their clothes on night attacks.

² See also pages 571 E. and 579 E.

of October, Antwerp, Ghent, Bruges, Oudenarde, Ostend, Menin and Ath. The Archduke Charles was proclaimed King in the Netherlands.

This victory compelled Villars to send reinforcements from Alsace and thus saved Louis of Baden ; Vendôme was summoned from Italy to replace Villeroy, and his absence helped Eugene to win the battle of Turin in September ; Louis XIV made proposals for peace in October.¹

D. 1707. A year of disaster for the Allies.²

Charles XII of Sweden had entered the Empire, and Louis XIV hoped that his hostility to the Emperor Joseph would induce him to side with France. Partly owing to Marlborough's skilful diplomacy Charles turned against Russia, but owing to his presence some of the North German princes had failed to send the contingents Marlborough expected and he gained no important successes in 1707.

E. 1708.

(1) Oudenarde, July 11th.

Louis sent to the Netherlands a large army under the command of Burgundy and Vendôme, but its operations were seriously hampered by dissensions between the generals. The Spanish Netherlands, irritated by the exactions of the Allies, welcomed the French ; Bruges and Ghent submitted to Vendôme, who secured the line of the Scheldt and hoped, by securing Oudenarde, to strengthen his communications with France. Eugene came to the Netherlands with an army of 35,000 men and joined Marlborough. Marlborough caught the French army in confusion on the Scheldt ; contradictory orders by Burgundy and Vendôme increased the confusion ; the French right was turned by the Dutch and Danes, and only night saved the French from annihilation.

¹ Page 580.

² Page 579.

(2) Lille.

Marlborough was now between the French army and the French border, guarded by Lille and other fortresses. He proposed to mask Lille with a containing force and to invade France, thus compelling Vendôme to evacuate Western Flanders. But Eugene thought the plan dangerous, and the Dutch refused to consider it, so he resolved to besiege Lille.

August–December. Eugene besieged Lille, which was gallantly defended by Boufflers; Marlborough's army prevented Vendôme and Berwick from raising the siege and protected convoys from Ostend.

September 27th. The defeat of the French by Webb at Wynendael.

October 22nd. Surrender of the town of Lille.

December 9th. Surrender of the citadel of Lille.

Ghent and Bruges and all Western Flanders submitted to the Allies; the French withdrew to France; the Allies overran Artois, and a Dutch raiding party got as far as Sevres, where they nearly captured the Dauphin.

F. 1709.

(1) May. Failure of peace negotiations at The Hague.¹

(2) Malplaquet.

The intolerable proposals of the Allies led to an outburst of patriotism in France which enabled Louis to send an army of 90,000 men under Villars to the Netherlands. Marlborough captured Tournay and was advancing on Mons. Villars tried to stop him at Malplaquet, where Marlborough and Eugene defeated him. But the Allies, who attacked, lost perhaps 20,000 men, the French 12,000.² Although the Allies captured Mons, the gallant resistance and successful retreat of Villars greatly encouraged the French; while the enormous losses of the Allies strengthened in England the rapidly growing opposition to the war.

¹ Page 581.

² Villars asserted that the numbers were 30,000 and 6000 respectively.

G. 1710-1711.

Marlborough's position was weakened. England was tired of a Whig war ; the Duchess of Marlborough lost the favour of Anne. He therefore in 1710 limited his efforts to the capture of Douai, Bethune and other towns and to a steady effort to drive Villars back to France, In September, 1711, he captured Bouchain, but in December, 1711, was dismissed from office by the Tory Ministry, which had come into office at the end of 1710.

III. Germany.

The main feature of the war in Germany was the attempt of the French to secure Vienna. This led to operations by both sides on the Rhine, undertaken largely to ensure communication with their forces on the Danube, and the Danube campaigns.

A. 1702.

- (1) September. The Elector of Bavaria captured Ulm.
- (2) September 11th. Louis of Baden, the Imperial general, captured Landau, the key to Alsace. He advanced against the Elector of Bavaria, but was defeated on October 14th at Friedlingen in the Black Forest by Villars, who, in spite of this victory, failed to effect a junction with the Elector of Bavaria as a preliminary to an attack on Vienna.

B. 1703.

- (1) *Scharding.*

March. The Elector of Bavaria defeated the Austrians at Scharding and took Ratisbon.

- (2) *The Tyrol.*

May. Villars joined the Elector at Villingen on the Upper Danube ; but the Elector, instead of pushing on to Vienna, which would probably have fallen before an immediate attack, undertook an unsuccessful campaign against Eugene in the Tyrol.¹

¹ Page 570.

(3) Höchstett.

September. Meanwhile Louis of Baden had captured Augsburg and was trying to unite with Styrum to crush Villars ; but the Elector of Bavaria defeated Louis of Baden and, on September 20th, routed Styrum at Höchstett. Villars still wished to strike at Vienna, but the Elector of Bavaria refused to co-operate.

November. Tallard took Breisach and Landau.

1704.

(1) Danger to Vienna.

Vienna was now in grave danger. The Emperor was weakened by the revolt of Hungary under Ragotsky, which had broken out in 1701, and by the danger of a Turkish attack from Belgrade ; strong French forces were wintering in Bavaria, and there was not a man between the Elector and Vienna ; Tallard's success on the Rhine improved communications with Alsace, and his army would protect the Elector from an attack from the west ; England and the United Provinces were engaged in the Netherlands, whither Villeroi was sent with a large army to keep Marlborough engaged. But the action of the Duke of Savoy in joining the Grand Alliance obviated the danger of an invasion of Austria from Italy.

(2) Marlborough's march.

Marlborough realised that the loss of Vienna would be a serious blow to the Allies and resolved to march to its relief. He hoodwinked the Dutch, who would never have agreed to his daring plan, by pretending that he was going to attack France along the Moselle ; he left the Dutch army at Maestricht to check Villeroi ; he then pushed down the Rhine, received Prussian and German reinforcements at Mainz on May 29th, thus causing Tallard to fall back to defend Alsace ; he avoided Tallard, marched up the Neckar, descended

into the Danube valley and met Louis of Baden near Ulm on June 22nd. Eugene was sent to hold Tallard ; Marlborough and Louis advanced against the Elector and Marsin, the successor of Villars, who had been recalled to crush the Camisards in France. On July 2nd Marlborough stormed Donauwörth, where the Elector had taken up a strong position to check him ; he thus secured the passage of the Danube and cut off the Bavarians from Vienna. On August 11th he was joined by Eugene, who had retreated before the army Villeroi was bringing to reinforce Tallard. On August 11th Tallard, relying upon Villeroi to check Eugene, joined the Elector of Bavaria and Marsin at Blenheim.

(3) The Battle of Blenheim, August 13th, 1704.

a. The battle.

The right wing, under Tallard, held Blenheim ; the left, under Marsin and the Elector, held Lutzingen. The centre was protected by what Tallard thought was an impassable marsh and was lightly held. Marlborough delivered containing attacks against Blenheim and Lutzingen, crossed the marsh and destroyed the French centre by a brilliant cavalry charge which he led in person, and captured Tallard and practically all his army in Blenheim. Marsin, who had offered a gallant resistance to Eugene, withdrew his troops in good order.

b. The results.

Marlborough's great victory compelled the French to recross the Rhine and evacuate Germany ; it facilitated the capture of Trèves on October 26th, and the recapture of Landau on November 23rd, thus strengthening the Allies on the Rhine and Moselle ; Bavaria submitted to the Allies, and the Elector and his brother, the Elector of Cologne, fled to France ;

Vienna, Germany and the Empire were saved ; a French invasion of England was rendered impossible and the Protestant Succession ensured ; great enthusiasm for the war was aroused in England, and Marlborough's position greatly strengthened ; the prestige of the French troops was broken and England was recognised to be a great Military Power ; the danger to English commerce passed away.

(4) Criticism.

Blenheim was the first great English victory on the Continent since Agincourt. It was the outcome of a daring strategic scheme which involved practically a flank movement right across the French front ; it was conducted with great rapidity and secrecy, and these qualities largely explain the success of a campaign conducted at so great a distance from Marlborough's base of operations in the Netherlands.

D. 1707.

Villars crossed the Rhine, carried the lines of Stollhofen, harried Swabia and Franconia. His hopes to combine with Charles XII¹ were not fulfilled, and he was driven out of Germany by the Elector of Hanover.² No other important events took place in Germany, although desultory fighting continued on the Rhine.

IV. Spain.

The main interest of the war in Spain lay in the struggle for the crown which led to a revival of the old jealousy felt by Catalonia and Valencia against Castile. But the national opposition of Spain prevented the Archduke Charles from driving Philip V from the throne.

A. 1702.

September. An English attack on Cadiz failed ; but in October Rooke destroyed the Spanish Plate Fleet and routed the Spanish and French in Vigo Bay.

¹ Page 573.

² Afterwards George I.

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December. By the Methuen Treaty Portugal secured preferential treatment for the export of wine to England and the import of English wool.

B. 1703.

May. Portugal joined the Grand Alliance. The Allies thus secured a base of operations against Spain.

C. 1704.

August. Rooke captured Gibraltar and, in the greatest naval battle of the war, defeated a French fleet which tried to recover it. England thus obtained a strong naval base in the Mediterranean, and the Allies secured command of the sea and thus contributed to the loss of Italy by the French.

D. 1705.

March. Galway invaded Spain from Portugal, but failed to take Badajoz.

October. Peterborough captured Barcelona; Catalonia and Valencia recognised the Archduke Charles, who was proclaimed as Charles III at Barcelona.

E. 1706.

May. Owing to the Dutch and English fleets Philip V failed to recapture Barcelona. Aragon revolted and accepted Charles III.

June. Galway entered Madrid, but was compelled to retire into Aragon. The English occupation of Madrid greatly strengthened the national feeling in favour of Philip.

F. 1707.

April 25th. Owing to disagreement the Archduke Charles withdrew his forces from Galway, whose weakened army was utterly routed by Berwick¹ at Almanza.

¹ Illegitimate son of James II and Marlborough's sister Arabella Churchill.

Philip V recovered Valencia and Aragon ; the Archduke Charles kept only Catalonia.

[August. Failure of Eugene's expedition to Provence.]

G. 1708.

August. Leake captured Sardinia and, in September, Stanhope took Minorca. The English naval power in the Mediterranean was greatly strengthened by these successes.

H. 1710.

July and August. Stahremberg and Stanhope routed the Spaniards at Almenara and Saragossa, and the Archduke Charles entered Madrid on September 23rd. Castile rose in favour of Philip, Vendôme prevented Portugal from helping the Allies and Charles withdrew from Madrid. In December, Vendôme routed Stanhope at Brihuega and Stahremberg at Villa Viciosa. Although Catalonia continued to oppose him, Philip's position was now assured.

References :

The Ascendancy of France (Wakeman), Rivingtons, chap. xv.
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History of France (Kitchin), Vol. III, Book V, chap. vii.
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THE PEACE OF UTRECHT

I. Earlier Negotiations for Peace.

A. 1706.

- (1) Owing to the crushing defeats of the French at Ramillies and Turin, Louis offered to recognise the Archduke Charles as King of Spain and the Netherlands provided that Milan, Naples and Sicily were given to Philip of Anjou ; to allow the Dutch to

occupy the Barrier Fortresses ; to recognise the Protestant Succession in England.

- (2) The Dutch were inclined to accept these terms, but the Emperor Joseph wanted the Milanese and resented the separation of the Barrier Fortresses from the Netherlands ; public opinion in England objected to the partition of the Spanish Empire, and Marlborough and the Whigs thought the terms were too favourable to France.

B. 1709. The Hague.

- (1) Owing to the defeat of the French at Oudenarde, the loss of Lille and Minorca, the financial difficulties of France and the utter misery caused in France by dearth and famine, greatly aggravated by the bitterly cold winter of 1708-1709, Louis XIV offered at The Hague to renounce all claims of Philip of Anjou on Spain ; to surrender the Barrier Fortresses to the Dutch and Strasburg to the Emperor Joseph ; to expel the Pretender from France and to acknowledge the Protestant Succession in England.
- (2) But the Allies distrusted Louis and were determined to humiliate him ; they required him also to assist in expelling Philip from Spain if he had not left the country within two months. Louis declared, " If I have to fight, I would rather fight my enemies than my children." The patriotism of France was roused, and a great national effort resulted in the equipment of Villar's new army.¹

C. 1710. Gertruydenberg.

Louis offered to recognise the Archduke Charles as King of Spain, to forbid his soldiers to fight in Spain and even to give supplies to the Allies. But he again refused to coerce Philip and negotiations failed.

¹ Page 574.

II. The Peace of Utrecht, 1713.

Changed conditions.

(1) Danger from Austria.

The Emperor Joseph I died on April 17th, **1711**, and his brother the Archduke Charles would succeed him ; the union of Spain, the Indies and the Netherlands with the Empire, Austria, Hungary and Bohemia would overthrow the Balance of Power which the Grand Alliance had been formed to maintain, and the Austrian power would become a grave danger to Europe.

(2) Louis' concessions.

Louis was willing to promise that if Philip V remained King of Spain the crowns of France and Spain should not be united ; to make valuable commercial concessions to England and to recognise her supremacy in the Narrow Seas.

Louis' power of resistance was greatly weakened by the deaths within twelve months in **1711-1712** of the Dauphin, his son the Duke of Burgundy, and the Duchess of Burgundy and her eldest son, the Duke of Brittany.

(3) England.

The Tories, who had come into office in **1710**, resented the expense of the " Whig War " ; feared Marlborough and deprived him of his post in December, **1711** ; objected to the heavy cost of helping the Allies ; " The High Allies have been the ruin of us," said Swift in *The Conduct of the Allies* ; they realised the danger from Austria.

May, **1712**. The English made a separate truce with France, and Ormond, who had succeeded Marlborough, withdrew his forces from Eugene, whom the Dutch had chosen as their general.

(4) The Dutch.

The Dutch, hoping that the early succession of the Elector of Hanover to the English throne would

restore the Whigs, resolved to continue the war under the leadership of Eugene.

July, 1712. Eugene was routed at Denain by Villars. Capture by the French of Douai and Bouchain. The Dutch therefore made a truce with France.

(5) The Emperor.

The Archduke Charles, who had been elected Emperor in December, 1711, resented the defection of the English and Dutch, refused to give up the crown of Spain and continued the war after the Peace of Utrecht had been signed on April 11th, 1713.

1713. Villars captured Landau and Freiburg and forced the Emperor to conclude peace with France by the Peace of Rastadt on March 6th, 1714.

III. The Terms of the Peace.

The Peace of Utrecht is the name given to a series of twelve treaties made from February 28th, 1713, to September 7th, 1714, between individual opponents in the War of the Spanish Succession. Peace was made between France and Austria at Rastadt on March 16th, 1714, and between France and the Empire at Baden on September 7th, 1714.

England and France took the leading part in the negotiations, and the former is justly censured for leaving the Dutch and the Austrians to make their own terms and for failing to protect the Protestants of the Cevennes from Louis XIV or the Catalans from Philip V. The capture of Barcelona in September, 1714, by Berwick was followed by the enslavement of many of its inhabitants and the destruction of the political privileges of Catalonia.

A. England.

(1) The Colonies.

France gave to England Newfoundland, Acadia, Hudson's Bay, and St. Kitts in the Leeward Islands ;

England and France gave to each other the position of the most favoured nation in commerce and agreed that neutral ships should make neutral cargoes except in the case of contraband of war ; Spain granted to England the Assiento, or right of supplying 4800 negro slaves annually for thirty years to Spanish America, and the right of sending each year one trading vessel of five hundred tons burden to Spanish America.

(2) The Protestant Succession.

France recognised the Protestant Succession in England and expelled the Old Pretender from France.

(3) Europe.

Spain ceded to England Minorca and Gibraltar and promised to give complete amnesty to the Catalans.

The strong fortifications of Dunkirk, a serious menace to England, were to be dismantled.

B. France.

(1) France kept¹ Alsace and Strasburg, but restored to the Empire all the places she had captured on the right bank of the Rhine ; the Protestant States of Germany tried in vain to secure the abrogation of a clause in the Treaty of Ryswick ensuring the continuance of Roman Catholic worship in places where it had been exercised.

(2) Cape Breton.

France retained Cape Breton Island and rights of fishing on the Banks of Newfoundland. Disputes between English and French fishermen led to great irritation between the two Powers in future years.

(3) The Netherlands.

France retained Lille, Aire and Bethune.

(4) Orange.

France secured Orange, to which the King of Prussia had laid claim.

¹ By the Treaty of Baden.

C. Austria.

Austria received the Spanish Netherlands, the Milanese, Naples, Mantua and Sardinia ; agreed to restore Louis' strong supporters the Electors of Bavaria and Cologne to their territories ; secured the recognition by France of the Electorate of Hanover.

D. Prussia.

France recognised the Prussian monarchy and ceded to it Upper Guelderland and Neuchâtel.

E. Savoy.

France restored Nice and Savoy to Duke Victor Amadeus II, who was recognised as King of Sicily [which he exchanged for Sardinia in 1720].

F. The United Provinces.

The interests of the United Provinces led to the revocation of the cession of the Spanish Netherlands which Louis XIV had made to Maximilian Emmanuel of Bavaria.

By the Third Barrier Treaty, concluded at Antwerp on November 15th, 1715, the Spanish Netherlands were given to the Emperor Charles ; the Dutch obtained the Barrier Fortresses of Namur, Tournay, Menin, Furnes, Warneton, Ypres and Knoeke under the guarantee of England.

G. Spain.

Philip V was recognised as King of Spain and the Indies, but the crowns of Spain and France were never to be united. [Philip renounced his claim to the French throne ; the Dukes of Berri and Orleans their claims to the Spanish throne.]

IV. The Importance of the Peace of Utrecht.

The Peace helped to prevent a general European war until the beginning of the War of the Austrian Succession, in 1746, by breaking the dictatorship of France

and establishing safeguards in the Netherlands, on the Upper and Lower Rhine, in Savoy and Italy against any attempt to reimpose it. As the Treaty of Westphalia settled the religious questions which arose out of the Reformation, so the Peace of Utrecht settled the political questions that arose out of the aggression of France.

Although it was a recognition of existing facts it led to most important developments. England became the leading Power in Europe ; the valuable additions to her colonies which she received at Utrecht mark the beginning of that development of her colonial empire which formed so important a feature of her policy in the eighteenth century and was to lead to the "Second Hundred Years' War" with France.

France had failed to establish her supremacy and was greatly impoverished owing to her efforts. The absolute monarchy, which reached its height under Louis XIV, was soon to enter on a period of rapid decline which was hastened by the struggles with England which marked the eighteenth century.

Holland had got security, but soon lost the important position William III had won for her in Europe.

Spain had lost much territory, but retained the King she had chosen ; "Philip V was left on the throne of Spain because there was no one else who could be put there." But her power was probably strengthened by the loss of her outlying provinces, and the decline which had marked the seventeenth century was arrested ; a family connection had been established with France which was to lead to the Family Compact of 1761, by which the two nations combined to preserve the Bourbon possessions.

Austria gained much territory, but as her new acquisitions were far away it is doubtful whether they greatly increased her strength. She had lost ground in Germany, although the southern states continued to look to her for leadership ; but her successes against the Turks

greatly extended her power in the East and to some extent compensated for her loss of influence on the Rhine and in Northern Germany.

The kingdom of Prussia now received formal recognition ; it was destined to take the lead in Northern Germany, and in 1871 to wrest from Austria the predominance in Germany ; to take an active part in the Franco-German question which superseded the old Franco-Imperial struggle.

Savoy, soon to become part of the Kingdom of Sardinia, was after many years to drive the Austrians out of Italy and, for the first time, to form a United Kingdom of Italy.

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SECTION XIX

LOUIS XIV

THE INTERNAL HISTORY OF FRANCE FROM THE DEATH OF MAZARIN TO THE DUTCH WAR, 1661-1672.

I. The Condition of Europe in 1661.

A. Monarchy.

Europe was at peace. After the Peace of Westphalia religion, a fruitful cause of strife since the Reformation, became a less dominant factor in politics. The great ideals of the Reformation period had lost their force ; those of the eighteenth century had not appeared. Conditions had led to the strengthening of monarchy ; in 1660 Charles II had been restored to the throne of England, and in 1660 Frederick III had established absolute monarchy in Denmark.¹ Sweden was to take the same course in 1686 ;² the policy of Richelieu and Mazarin had made the Crown supreme in France, and under Louis XIV the nation became an absolutely centralised monarchy and was " focussed and crystallised into the person of the King."

The King used the resources of the nation to maintain his absolute power at home and to secure territorial acquisitions abroad, and owing to the selfish struggle that arose from these conditions the idea of the Balance of Power, which aimed at preventing the dangerous supremacy of any one monarch, was strengthened.

B. France.

France was favourably situated. Her old enemy Spain had been weakened by the Peace of the Pyrenees and was destined to become weaker still. Charles II of England was anxious to maintain friendly relations with

¹ Page 440.

² Page 443.

Louis, and the Burgher party, who were in the ascendancy in the United Provinces, was the French party.

France was impoverished, largely owing to the cost of recent wars ; the financial system was corrupt ; industry languished. But peace seemed assured, and from 1661-1672 Louis XIV, through his ministers, took advantage of the opportunity to effect many reforms. " These years are among the most prosperous and happy that France has ever seen."

II. Louis XIV.

A. Early life.

Louis XIV was born on September 5th, 1638. He had succeeded his father Louis XIII, who died on May 14th, 1643 ; but from that time until his death on March 9th, 1661, Mazarin had ruled France, " the King interfered in nothing." Louis XIV was so badly educated that he could scarcely read and write ; both his mother and Mazarin had tried to make him appreciate the dignity and duties of a King, but he was generally regarded as a graceful, pleasure-loving young Prince who would not take his duties very seriously.

B. Louis determined to rule.

But on March 10th, 1661, Louis XIV surprised his council by saying, " Hitherto I have been right willing to let my affairs be managed by the Cardinal : it is time I should now take them into my own hands." He became his own minister, presided at council meetings, displayed great industry in business and, although he was ably served, his greatest ministers were little more than royal clerks carrying out a policy for which the King's sanction was necessary.

C. The machinery of Government.

(1) The Central Councils.

Louis governed through four Councils—of State, of Despatches, of Finance and the Privy Council.

The nobles were excluded from these Councils, which were composed of middle-class members, of whom lawyers formed a large number. The first three always met in the King's presence, and in all he, and not the members, made the final decision.

(2) Provincial Assemblies.

Provincial Parliaments and Estates continued to meet and great noblemen acted as Governors of Provinces. But the middle-class Intendants, the officials of the King, exercised all power.

(3) Secretaries of State.

Although some of the old officers, such as the Chancellor, were retained they exercised little real authority. The administration was carried out by four royal Secretaries for Foreign Affairs, War, the Court and Church and the Protestants.

D. The fall of Fouquet, 1661.

Nicholas Fouquet had acted as Superintendent of Finance under Mazarin and had misused his position to acquire a great private fortune. He had aspired to the favour of Mademoiselle de la Vallière, the King's mistress, and Louis' jealousy, or perhaps real fear, of this powerful subject led to the condemnation of Fouquet for corruption in 1661. He was imprisoned for life at Pinerolo, although some identify him with the Man in the Iron Mask. Colbert took an active part in his downfall.

III. Jean Baptiste Colbert, Marquis de Seignelay.

On the fall of Fouquet, Colbert, whom Mazarin on his death-bed had recommended to Louis' notice, became chief of a committee of five which was established to deal with the finances. He became Superintendent of Buildings in 1664, Controller-General of Finance in 1667, Secretary for the King's Household and for the Navy in 1669.

Colbert was business-like, industrious and honest. He aimed at making France a commercial state, restoring financial stability and managing the country on business lines.

A. Financial reform.

Under Richelieu and Mazarin the financial system had been utterly corrupt. The State received only a small amount of the taxes paid, tax farmers became wealthy. The *taille* caused great hardship; the privileged classes escaped payment; those who had to pay were arbitrarily assessed; payment was enforced by brutal methods. Colbert

- (1) Repudiated some of the debts owed by the Crown on the ground that only a portion of the payment due had been received by the Treasury.
- (2) Paid off some debts of the Crown, less the interest which had been paid.
- (3) Remitted arrears of *taille*.
- (4) Compelled dishonest farmers of taxes to restore the money they had embezzled.
- (5) Appointed Intendants to supervise future payments of taxes, instituted proper systems of accounts and arranged for official audits, reassessed the *taille*.

In 1661 the revenue showed a deficit of twenty-two million francs; in 1667 a balance of thirty million francs. Great as it was, Colbert's success would have been greater still but for the King's extravagance and, in particular, the enormous cost of building Versailles.

B. Commerce and Industry.

(1) Tariffs.

a. Foreign trade.

Colbert saw that the royal revenue would be increased if commerce and industry prospered,

and encouraged home industries by imposing hostile tariffs on foreign imports and removing export duties on home manufactures.

b. Internal trade.

He promoted internal trade by abolishing provincial customs.

(2) Patronage of Industry.

a. Home manufactures.

Colbert brought foreign workmen into France to establish new manufactures ; encouraged monasteries and municipalities to engage in manufacture ; issued many regulations prescribing methods of manufacture ; established new manufactures of tapestry (particularly the Gobelin factory), glass, silk, mosaics, gold and silver cloth ; encouraged horse-breeding.

But his refusal to allow the export of surplus corn impoverished farmers, although it helped industrialists by supplying cheap food.

The construction of roads and canals, especially the Canal of Languedoc joining the Mediterranean and Bay of Biscay, promoted commerce by facilitating communication.

b. Colonial development.

Colbert promoted the development of French colonies in America and the West Indies and founded the East and West India Companies, the Companies of the Levant and the Northern Seas. Partly to protect colonies and foreign trade he greatly improved the navy and increased its strength from twenty vessels in **1661** to one hundred and ninety-six in **1671**. He strengthened the fortifications of such ports as Toulon and Brest.

(3) General.

Colbert's measures led to the great and rapid growth of French industry, to the increase of the royal revenue and to a fairer adjustment of taxation.

But both in France and in the colonies Colbert interfered too much ; he failed to realise the importance of liberty as a condition of commercial development ; he did not understand that foreign trade may benefit both parties, that civilised nations cannot be economically independent. The final result of his policy was "that France has ever since leant on Government support instead of on the spontaneous energies of the people" ; an important immediate result was the war between France and the United Provinces, **1672-1678**, which was largely due to retaliatory tariffs placed by the Dutch on French goods.

C. Patronage of Letters.

Colbert founded the Academies of Inscriptions and Medals, of Science, of Architecture, of Music and the French Academy at Rome. He gave pensions to literary men, but these were given with a political object. The historians of Louis XIV received the highest grants ; Molière and Racine received only small pensions ; Boileau got nothing.

IV. Louvois. François Michel le Tellier, Marquis de Louvois.

Louvois, son of Le Tellier, Secretary of State for War in **1661**, was made Secretary of State by Louis XIV in **1662**. Strong rivalry sprang up between Louvois and Colbert, partly owing to personal jealousy, partly through difference of policy.

A. A great Administrator.

Louvois greatly improved the French army. He appointed inspectors to see that the power of recruiting which the nobles possessed was properly exercised, and particularly to see that the State was not defrauded by payments for soldiers who existed only on paper.

Martinet enforced discipline in the infantry, de Fourille in the cavalry.

The bayonet was introduced ; flintlock guns superseded matchlocks ; the force of grenadiers was properly organised ; uniform was introduced ; the victualling of the army was greatly improved ; magazines of stores established in important places facilitated the mobility of troops ; camps of instruction were formed. All authority was concentrated in the King, and the extraordinary power formerly enjoyed by the heads of the infantry, cavalry and artillery was curtailed.

"Without the efficiency of the French War Office under Louvois it is impossible to conceive of all the triumphs dating from the earlier part of Louis XIV's reign."¹

B. A bad Statesman.

Louvois, brutal towards his inferiors, was subservient to the King and urged him to adopt an aggressive policy which would give Louvois' army an opportunity of showing what it could do.

He persuaded Louis to declare war on the Dutch in **1672**, partly to depress Colbert, whose plans of commercial development would be hampered by the need of finding money for the war ; he urged Louis to revoke the Edict of Nantes ;² induced Louis in **1688** to make the grave mistake of invading the Palatinate instead of attacking William of Orange.

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¹ *Cambridge Modern History*.

² Page 601.

THE INTERNAL HISTORY OF FRANCE FROM 1672 TO 1715

I. *Madame de Maintenon.*

Louis transferred to mistresses the affection he owed to his wife. Louise de la Vallière had been succeeded by Madame de Montespan, who bore to Louis two sons, the Duke of Maine and the Count of Toulouse. In 1666 she engaged Françoise d'Aubigné, granddaughter of Agrippa d'Aubigné, a Huguenot general, and widow of the comic poet Scarron, as governess for her children. Louis gave his children's governess a small estate at Maintenon, and she is generally known as Madame de Maintenon. She was a woman of strong religious views, refused to become Louis' mistress, but gained his complete confidence ; she reconciled Louis and his wife and procured the dismissal of Madame de Montespan. Maria Theresa died in 1683, and Louis married Madame de Maintenon in January, 1684. She never assumed the position of Queen, but exercised profound influence over Louis, whose personal morality improved and who became a devoted Roman Catholic.

II. *Gallican Liberties.*

The French had always claimed a large measure of freedom for the French Church and had resented any attempt of the Pope to curtail Gallican Liberties. The Concordat of 1516¹ had given the Crown the right of appointing to vacant sees and of raising or lowering clerical incomes.

A. *The Régale.*

The Kings of France had long exercised in the old domain lands of the monarchy the *Régale*, or right of enjoying the revenues of vacant bishoprics. Some

¹ Page 70.

dioceses in the South of France claimed exemption from the *Régale* on the ground of ancient custom.

In 1673, partly from a desire to bring all the clergy more directly under his authority, partly perhaps from resentment at the support given to the Emperor Leopold by Pope Innocent XI (1676-1689), Louis extended the *Régale* to the whole of France. The Bishops of Alet and Pamiers denied the legality of the King's action and received the support of Innocent XI.

On the death of the Bishop of Pamiers in 1680 the Cathedral Chapter elected a successor. The Archbishop of Narbonne, who supported the King's claim to nominate, tried to interfere and Innocent XI threatened to excommunicate him.

Thus a grave constitutional question had arisen between the Pope and the Gallican Church, which had always been anti-Papal.

B. The Assembly of St. Germain, 1682.

The eloquent Bossuet, Bishop of Meaux, persuaded the Assembly of Clergy at St. Germain to recognise the right of the King to exercise the *Régale* over all France and to prescribe the limitations of the Papal power. It decided that—

- (1) The Pope had no jurisdiction over temporal sovereigns.
- (2) The Pope was subject to a General Council.
- (3) The Gallican Liberties were sacred.
- (4) Questions of doctrine must be settled by the Pope and bishops jointly.

The decisions of the Assembly were contrary to the claims advanced by the Papacy since the time of Hildebrand and to the findings of the Council of Trent. Innocent XI refused to accept them or to institute as bishops or priests those clergymen who had accepted them. In consequence many sees and livings remained vacant; Louis XIV took their

revenues, while resentment at Innocent's action led to a movement in favour of the establishment of a French Patriarchate.

C. Reconciliation of Louis XIV and the Papacy, 1693.

Owing to the strong influence of his wife, Madame de Maintenon, and the desire to remove any difficulties which might hamper him in prosecuting the War of the League of Augsburg (1688-1697), Louis became reconciled with Pope Innocent XII, who accepted the King's appointments to bishoprics, while Louis agreed to the repudiation of the Articles of St. Germain.

III. The Revocation of the Edict of Nantes.

A. Growing opposition to the Huguenots.

The Huguenots, who now numbered about two millions, had ceased to be a political force ; they had taken no part in the Fronde ;¹ they had resisted Condé, had devoted themselves most successfully to industry and strongly supported Colbert's commercial policy. But Louis XIV resented the special laws which protected the Huguenots, " the very existence of the Edict of Nantes galled him " ; the Church of France and the Jesuits urged him to ensure the conversion of the Huguenots ; Madame de Maintenon, though disapproving of violence, wished to see all France become Roman Catholic ; Louis wished to show that, in spite of his quarrel with Innocent XI, he was a strong supporter of Roman Catholicism ; the fall of Colbert deprived the Huguenots of a good friend.

B. Limitation of the rights of the Huguenots.

The privileges the Huguenots enjoyed under the Edict of Nantes had been curtailed.

1666. Louis issued an Edict which greatly weakened the Huguenots and provoked the protests of the Great Elector and England.

¹ Pages 355-359.

1677. Establishment of the "Treasury of Conversions," by which a third of the income of vacant benefices was given to Crown agents to bribe Huguenots to become Roman Catholics.

1681. Huguenots were excluded from most trade guilds, from financial appointments and the King's household. Protestant children of seven years of age were declared capable of conversion.

These measures had led to the conversion of 58,000 Huguenots by **1682**; in **1684** out of 815 Huguenot churches 570 had been closed.

1683-1684. Unsuccessful risings of the Huguenots in the Cevennes led in

1684 to the Dragonnades, or practice of billeting soldiers on Huguenot households. This iniquitous institution, suggested by Louvois, led many Huguenots to profess Roman Catholicism to save their wives and daughters from the soldiers. Of 22,000 Protestants of Bearn all except a few hundreds professed conversion.

C. The Revocation, **1685**.

(1) The Edict.

On the advice of the Chancellor Le Tellier and his son Louvois and Louis' Jesuit Confessor, Père La Chaise, and encouraged by the accession of James II to the English throne, Louis issued on October 22nd, **1685**, the Edict of Revocation, which declared that as most Huguenots had become Catholics the Edict of Nantes was no longer necessary; forbade the Huguenots to meet for public worship; ordered their ministers to leave France within fifteen days; closed Huguenot schools and compelled Huguenot children to be brought up as Catholics.

(2) Results.

Many Huguenots had emigrated since the persecution began; now all who could escape left France. Fifty thousand families are said to have gone.

France lost the most industrious part of its population; Colbert's commercial schemes were ruined. Huguenot refugees not only led to remarkable commercial and industrial development in Prussia, Holland and England, but strengthened the opponents of Louis by securing for them the help of Huguenot soldiers like Ruvigny and Schomberg. Protestantism, though greatly weakened, survived in France, and the rising of the Camisards in the Cevennes seriously hampered Louis' operations in the War of the Spanish Succession.

The Revocation of the Edict of Nantes was "the greatest blunder and crime" of Louis XIV's reign.

IV. The Jansenists.

A. Jansenism.

Jansenism was so called from its founder, Cornelius Jansen (1585-1638), Professor of Divinity at Louvain and afterwards Bishop of Ypres. Like Lutheranism, it was based upon the teaching of St. Augustine; it asserted that conversion, which is due to the grace of God, and not orthodoxy or even morality, is the only method of saving the soul. It had a distinct tendency towards Predestination. But it was a Catholic movement, it wished to revive the theology of the fourth century and asserted the authority of Councils against the doctrine of Papal Infallibility. It was thus opposed both to the Jesuits and the Protestants; the Jansenists sought "a theology which should be Catholic, but not Jesuit—evangelical, but not Protestant."

B. The Arnaulds.

1643. Antoine Arnauld published his *Frequent Communion*, attacking current methods of confession and absolution.

1653. Innocent X pronounced that five propositions from Jansen's *Augustinus* were heretical,

1656. The expulsion of Arnauld from the Sorbonne for heresy led to the issue of Pascal's *Provincial Letters*, which strongly attacked the Jesuits.

1656. Arnauld found a refuge in the old Cistercian convent of Port Royal des Champs, near Versailles, which had been revived and reformed by his sister, Angelica Arnauld, who became its Abbess. The Jansenists were devoted to education, and the Port Royal textbooks on grammar, logic and other subjects were widely used.

1669. Owing to the efforts of Pope Clement IX the "Clementine Peace" effected a reconciliation between the Jansenists and their opponents.

C. The Condemnation of Jansenism.

(1) The suppression of Port Royal.

At the end of the seventeenth century Jansenism gained strong supporters, notably Henri d'Aguesseau, the Procurator-General. It was identified with the cause of the independence of the Gallican Church and thus came into opposition to Louis XIV's absolution. The publication of Quesnel's *Reflexions Morales sur le Nouveau Testament* in **1671** popularised Jansenism among the laity.

1710. Only aged nuns remained at Port Royal, as the admission of novices had long been forbidden. The nuns refused to admit that Jansenist doctrines were heretical; they were therefore expelled from Port Royal, which was destroyed.

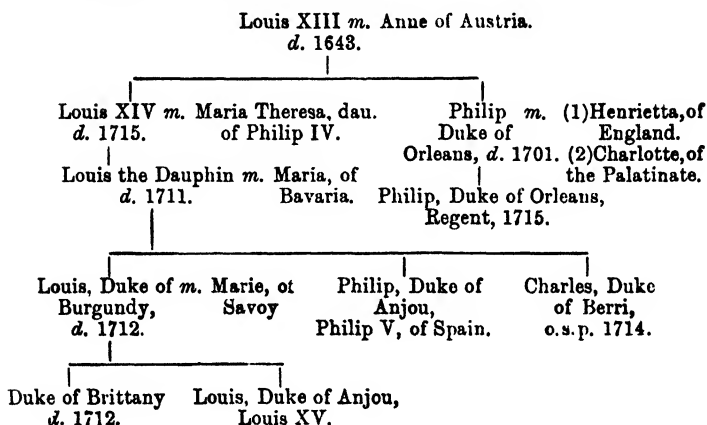
(2) The Bull *Unigenitus*.

1713. Pope Clement XI, by the Bull *Unigenitus*, condemned Quesnel's book. Noailles, Archbishop of Paris, who had strong sympathy with the Jansenists, and eight¹ bishops refused to accept the Bull, and the King, instigated by the Jesuits, commenced a bitter persecution of the Jansenists; many were imprisoned without trial, and altogether about 30,000 people,

¹ Some say fifteen

most of them men and women of position and culture, suffered. Noailles was protected by Madame de Maintenon, but only Louis XIV's death in 1715 saved him from deposition.

V. The Question of the Succession.



Family bereavement saddened Louis XIV's last years and led to his attempt to alter the succession.

The Dauphin died of smallpox in 1711. His eldest son Louis, Duke of Burgundy, now became Dauphin; his high character, his sincere sympathy for the grievances of the people and the popularity of his charming wife would have made him a most acceptable ruler. But the new Dauphin, his wife and eldest son the Duke of Brittany, all died, probably of smallpox, in 1712. Philip V of Spain was excluded from succession to the throne of France; Charles of Berri, the youngest of the three brothers, died in 1714, and the heir to the throne was Louis of Anjou, a sickly child only four years old.

The dissolute Philip of Orleans claimed the Regency according to the tradition of France; but Louis XIV and Madame de Maintenon feared that he would reverse

the policy which had long been followed at home, in regard to Church and State, and abroad. Louis therefore made the Duke of Maine and Count of Toulouse, his sons by Madame de Montespan, Princes of the Blood Royal, and declared them heirs to the throne if the direct line failed; made Maine the guardian of the young King and established a Council of Regency of which Maine was a member and Orleans was to be president. He hoped that Maine would continue his policy and that the Council would limit the authority of Orleans.

But France was tired of the policy of Louis XIV; the attempt of Louis XIV to treat the crown of France as his private property aroused strong resentment; propriety and French national honour were outraged by the favour shown to the King's natural sons. In spite of the bad character of Orleans, who was unjustly suspected of having poisoned the princes, he was appointed Regent by the Parliament of Paris on September 2nd, 1715, the day after Louis XIV died.

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THE FOREIGN POLICY OF LOUIS XIV¹

I. To the Peace of Nymwegen, 1678.

At the beginning of his reign Louis XIV determined to follow Richelieu's policy of restoring "to France the frontiers of ancient Gaul" and of extending the territory of France to her natural borders—the Rhine, the Alps and the Pyrenees. This policy involved the

¹ For a shorter account see page 621.

conquest of the Spanish Netherlands, Franche-Comté, Lorraine and Savoy, and made war with Spain certain. The condition of Europe from **1661** facilitated Louis' designs, and the weakness of the Empire, which was hampered by the aggression of the Turks, the decadence of Spain and the war between England and Holland, **1665-1667**, contributed to his early success.

A. Early alliances.

(1) Portugal.

In order to weaken the resistance which Spain would offer to the conquest of the Spanish Netherlands, Louis established friendly relations with Portugal, which was striving to maintain its independence of Spain, and in **1667** Louis made a treaty with Portugal, which undertook to continue the war with Spain.

(2) England.

The marriage of Louis' brother, Philip of Orleans, to Charles II's sister Henrietta in **1661**, the sale of Dunkirk to Louis by England in **1662** and Charles II's personal inclinations promoted a good understanding between England and France. Although, owing to his treaty with the Dutch, Louis XIV declared war on England in **1666**, he made in **1667** a secret treaty with Charles II, who promised not to oppose his designs on the Netherlands.

(3) The United Provinces.

1662. By the Treaty of Paris an alliance was made with the United Provinces. This alliance proved only temporary, but it served a useful purpose by preventing the Dutch from interfering with Louis' plans.

(4) Germany.

1658. Mazarin joined the League of the Rhine, which was renewed in **1664**. Thus France secured allies in Germany who tended to check the power of the

Emperor, who, as a Hapsburg, might be expected to resent Louis' designs against the Spanish branch of his house.

(5) The Emperor.

1668. Leopold I and Louis XIV made a secret treaty for the partition of the Spanish Empire.

Thus by the beginning of **1668** Spain was isolated and the neutrality of the Emperor assured.

B. The War of Devolution, **1667-1668**.¹

(1) Success of Louis.

Philip IV of Spain died in September, **1665**. His son, Charles II, succeeded; but Louis seized the opportunity to advance a claim to the Spanish Netherlands and invaded Flanders in May, **1667**. By the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, **1668**, Spain ceded to Louis twelve strong fortresses in the Netherlands, and the north-eastern border of France was greatly strengthened.

(2) Conditions adverse to France.

a. The French invasion of the Spanish Netherlands and the conquest of Franche-Comté in **1668** led to the Triple Alliance of **1668** between England, the United Provinces and Sweden, in which, by a striking change of policy, three of the leading Protestant powers united to protect the Spanish monarchy. The Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle is important as "the first formal expression of European resistance to the designs of Louis; it showed how the monster could be killed."

b. **1668.** Spain recognised the independence of Portugal; the cessation of war between the two countries enabled Spain to devote all her forces to resisting Louis' aggression.

¹ Page 521.

C. The Dutch War, 1672-1678.

The active part taken by the Dutch in forming the Triple Alliance aroused Louis' bitter hostility. He already hated the Dutch as republicans, Calvinists and commercial rivals of France, and now resolved to punish "messieurs ces marchands." He had secured pre-eminence in Europe; he now aimed at domination and resolved to attack the United Provinces in order to secure the rest of the Spanish Netherlands. He thus reversed the policy of Richelieu and Mazarin, which had been Catholic at home and Protestant abroad, and by attacking a Protestant nation increased the danger of opposition from other Protestant powers, and especially from Brandenburg. "In Holland the old political system of France suffered shipwreck."

By 1670, thanks to Colbert's policy, French industry and commerce had greatly developed and the financial condition of the country had much improved. Instead of concentrating on commerce and building up a great colonial empire Louis now entered on an aggressive policy which was destined to ruin Colbert's work, to cause financial disaster, to provoke the resistance of Europe and, ultimately, to lead to the development of the British Colonial Empire.

(1) The overthrow of the Triple Alliance.

a. 1670. Charles II made the Treaty of Dover, agreed to help Louis against the Dutch on land and sea, and to support the claim of Louis to the Spanish monarchy. Louis promised Charles £150,000 and £225,000 a year for the duration of the war.

b. 1672. Sweden, owing to constant danger from Denmark and to fear of the designs of Brandenburg on Pomerania, made an alliance with Louis XIV.

(2) Louis XIV and Germany.

By 1670 Louis had decided to attempt to secure the

Imperial crown, and the Elector of Bavaria in that year had promised to support his candidature. He now made treaties with German states, partly to secure their neutrality, if not active support, in the impending war against the United Provinces, partly to check interference by the Emperor, whose authority was resented by the German states.

1671. Louis made treaties with Hanover, Osnabrück, Brunswick-Lüneburg and the Palatinate, and, in the beginning of **1672**, with Cologne and Münster.

1671. Leopold I, owing to the grave danger from the Turks inspired by Ahmet Kiuprili,¹ and to continual disturbance in Hungary and Transylvania, made a treaty of neutrality with Louis XIV in December, **1671**.

Thus, although Brandenburg and Denmark made alliances with the United Provinces in **1671**, Louis had provided against German interference in his designs on the United Provinces. But in spite of the Treaty of Dover the people of England did not favour the French alliance, and if war broke out between Louis and the Empire it seemed likely that some of the German states, and particularly Bavaria, might support Leopold I.

(3) The Peace of Nymwegen, 1678.

By the treaties included in the Peace of Nymwegen² France added to her acquisitions in the Spanish Netherlands, kept Franche-Comté and Freiburg, and, owing to the refusal of the Duke of Lorraine to accept the terms offered, retained Lorraine.

D. General.

(1) Triumph of Louis XIV.

At the Peace of Nymwegen Louis reached the zenith of his power and seemed to have established the domination of France over Europe. He had not only secured important territorial extensions for France,

¹ Page 495.

² Page 531.

but compelled Brandenburg and Denmark to restore to Sweden the land they had won from her.¹

(2) Growing suspicion of Louis XIV.

But Louis had failed to conquer the United Provinces, which had kept all their territory and gained Maestricht, and as the war progressed considerable suspicion of Louis' designs arose, particularly in Germany. In 1673 the Emperor, William of Orange, Spain and Lorraine had formed a coalition against France; in 1674 Denmark, the Elector Palatine, the Duke of Brunswick-Lüneburg joined the coalition, and the Empire declared war on France in May, 1674. Soon afterwards a new coalition of the Empire, Spain, the United Provinces and Brandenburg was formed against Louis. Public opinion in England compelled Charles II to make a treaty with the United Provinces in August, 1678, and Parliament voted money to enable him "to enter into actual war with the French King."

(3) Lack of union in Europe.

But Louis' opponents were weakened by jealousy. Brandenburg was at variance with the Emperor about the succession to the Duchy of Liegnitz,² and in 1679 the Great Elector promised to support Louis' candidature for the Empire; Charles II would neglect no safe opportunity of supporting Louis, in spite of the opposition of his subjects. William of Orange was hampered by the Dutch republican party.

The time for a strong and effective union of Europe against Louis had not yet come. But the principle of coalition had again been made effective, and this principle, as expressed in the Grand Alliance, was ultimately to ruin Louis' plans; while William of Orange, to whom the Grand Alliance was mainly due, had already shown himself to be Louis' most dangerous opponent.

¹ Pages 441, 442.

² Page 461.

II. **From the Peace of Nymwegen, 1678, to the Treaty of Ryswick, 1697.**

A. Louis' change of policy.

Up to 1678 Louis' main object had been to conquer the Spanish Netherlands, although his desire to secure the Imperial crown had led to important negotiations with Germany. From 1678-1697 the extension of French power in Germany and the acquisition of the Empire were his main objects. His policy, hitherto predominantly Spanish, now became predominantly German. He was helped by the continuance of Turkish aggression in the East which culminated in the siege of Vienna in 1683; by the strength of the Court party in England at the end of Charles II's reign; by the accession of James II in 1685; by the friendly relations he established with Poland.¹

But his quarrel with Innocent XI² alienated devout Catholics. His alliance with the Turks was regarded by many as treason to Europe.

B. Initial successes.

Largely owing to the Chambers of Reunion³ Louis XIV strengthened his position on the Rhine by the acquisition of Alsace 1680, Strasburg and Casale in 1681, but failed to secure Luxemburg in 1682.

1684. Leopold I, owing to the grave danger from the Turks, was compelled to agree to the Truce of Ratisbon, which confirmed Louis in the possession of his recent acquisitions.

C. The Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, 1685.

The Revocation was a serious blow to Louis' foreign policy; Protestant states now regarded Louis as the champion of Catholicism, and religious differences again affected politics.

(1) The Great Elector of Brandenburg now became reconciled to the Emperor; his policy started the idea of

¹ Page 497.

² Page 599.

³ Page 533.

the national opposition of Germany to France, which was continued by Frederick the Great and long threatened the peace of Europe. The influence which Louis had gained in Germany was overthrown, and the Revocation was one of the reasons of the failure of Louis' Imperial schemes.

- (2) The Revocation strengthened the opposition of the Dutch to Louis and enabled William of Orange to triumph over the republican party ; it roused great indignation in England, where, in spite of the personal wishes of James II, the Huguenot refugees were welcomed.

D. The invasion of the Palatinate, September, 1688.¹

The invasion of the Palatinate in 1688 and its cruel devastation in 1689 alienated many of Louis' German allies. Saxony, which had promised to support Louis' candidature for the Empire, Hanover and Brunswick now prepared to defend the Empire, which strengthened its position in the East by the capture of Belgrade in 1688.²

E. William of Orange sails to England, October, 1688.

James II was anxious to strengthen Roman Catholicism and steadily supported Louis XIV, who was thus relieved of the serious danger of an attack from the combined forces of England and the United Provinces. But even under James II the people of England were hostile to France owing to resentment at the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, commercial rivalry and sympathy with the Dutch and Germans.

The accession of William III to the throne of England was a most serious blow to Louis and an event of great significance to Europe. William III's historical importance rests on the fact that he was the leading opponent of Louis, not on the fact that he was King of England.

¹ Page 538.

² Page 500.

He had in July, 1686, formed the League of Augsburg¹ to maintain the position created by the Treaties of Westphalia and Nymwegen and the Truce of Ratisbon. The League was greatly strengthened by the accession of England, whose fleet would prove of great value. The Revolution in England "marks the triumph of those principles to which the French King was most diametrically opposed."

F. The League of Augsburg, 1686.

The League originally included the Empire and most of the German states, which had been forced by the invasion of the Palatinate to recognise at last the danger which threatened Germany and the Empire from the ambition of Louis XIV. The accession of Bavaria and Savoy in 1687 was a great blow to Louis. But the League, though largely German, included the leading Protestant states, such as the United Provinces and Sweden,—and Catholic states,—Spain and the chief states of Italy. Pope Innocent XI joined it secretly.

"Formerly France had supported Protestantism in its resistance to the Great Catholic power of the House of Hapsburg. Now Spain and Austria—even the Pope himself—were leagued with the Protestant powers to check the aggressions of France in the sphere both of politics and of religion." Europe was becoming conscious of the danger of French domination, and Louis' only friends were the Turks and the Danes.

G. The Treaty of Ryswick. 1697.

By the Treaty of Ryswick France for the first time lost ground. Louis was compelled to restore some of his conquests and lost command of the sea; his chief opponents were greatly strengthened; he could no longer pose as the dictator of Europe and the champion of Roman Catholicism in England.

But the Treaty enabled France to recover strength for

¹ Page 536.

the inevitable struggle for the Spanish Empire, and the desire to be free to devote all his energies to this struggle was one of the reasons why Louis made peace.

The treaty also broke up the Grand Alliance. The German princes were alarmed at the conquest of Transylvania and Hungary by the Imperial forces¹ and feared that the increased power of the Emperor would threaten their independence.

III. From the Treaty of Ryswick, 1697, to the Peace of Utrecht, 1713.

A. The problem of the Spanish Succession.

Dean Kitchin says, "The question of the succession to the Spanish throne is the thread which runs through the whole reign of Louis XIV." It had induced Louis to make the Treaties of Aix-la-Chapelle, 1668; Nymwegen, 1678; and Ryswick, 1697.

But the question was European and not simply Spanish. It involved the problem of the Balance of Power, which would be seriously threatened if either France or Austria secured the whole of the Spanish Empire. It gave rise to colonial problems of the highest importance, raised the question of the freedom of commerce and vitally affected the future of the Maritime Nations. It was intimately associated with the establishment of the Kingdom in Prussia, with the Electorate of Hanover and the position of the Dukes of Savoy, Mantua and Lorraine.

It revived the old struggle between France and the Hapsburgs. Louis' demand for Lorraine and Guipuscoa was prompted by the fear that if Spain and Austria were united France might again be encircled by "the chain of the Austro-Spanish power." Bavaria supported France largely owing to her fear of the Empire, which had made in 1699 the Treaty of Carlowitz with the Turks.

¹ Page 500.

B. The Grand Alliance, 1701.

The Grand Alliance started by England, the United Provinces and the Emperor in September, 1701, was afterwards joined by Brandenburg, in accordance with the Crown Treaty; by the Electors of Mainz and Trèves, Hanover and the Palatinate; by the Franconian, Swabian, Rhenish, Austrian and Westphalian circles. The Scandinavian powers did not join, although the Allies were able to hire reinforcements from Denmark and Holstein-Gottorp. Portugal and Savoy changed sides in 1703.

But Bavaria and Cologne, and at first Savoy and Portugal, supported Louis XIV; Philip V was readily acknowledged in Spain except in Catalonia, and the difficulty caused to Louis by the Camisards¹ in France was not more serious than that caused to the Emperor by Ragotsky in Transylvania.

At the beginning of the war the opposing forces were evenly matched. The power of the Grand Alliance, which was not more formidable than the League of Augsburg, was weakened by jealousy between its members. But France had lost ground; Louis XIV was growing old; his generals were able, but inferior to Condé, Turenne or Luxemburg; France was badly administered and in a state of financial chaos. The comparative weakness of France and the genius of Marlborough were two of the main assets of the Grand Alliance.

C. The Peace of Utrecht (page 580).

IV. General.

Louis' foreign policy met at first with success and he did much to carry out Richelieu's design of extending France to her natural boundaries. He was successful, too, in his struggle against the Hapsburgs; he secured Spain for his grandson Philip and thus averted the union

¹ Page 572.

of the Empire and Spain, which had proved so dangerous to France under Charles V.

But he failed to secure the Empire or to establish his supreme authority in Western Europe. His ambitious schemes ruined France; the Peace of Utrecht marks the beginning of the decline of the French absolute monarchy. "By the disastrous policy of the Succession War, a war due only to his dynastic ambition, Louis forfeited all claims to the gratitude of France, while he earned the reprobation of Europe."

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Cambridge Modern History, Vol. V, chap. II.

LOUIS XIV

I. Life.

September 5th, **1638**. Born at St. Germain; the son of Louis XIII and Anne of Austria.

August 26th, **1660**. Louis married Maria Theresa, daughter of Philip IV of Spain.

March 9th, **1661**. On the death of Mazarin, Louis declared, "In future I shall be my own Prime Minister"; and the dismissal of Fouquet in September, **1661**, showed that the King was in earnest.

1662. Treaty of Paris made with Holland.

1667. Colbert made Controller-General of Finance.

1667-1668. The War of Devolution.¹

1668. Secret Treaty of Partition of the Spanish Empire between Louis XIV and Leopold I. Triple Alliance between England, Sweden and Holland. Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle.

1670. Defensive alliance between Bavaria and France. Secret Treaty of Dover.

¹ Page 521.

- 1671.** Publication of Quesnel's *Moral Reflections on the New Testament*.
- 1672-1678.** The Dutch War.¹
- 1678.** Peace of Nymwegen.
- 1679.** Louis makes the Treaties of St. Germain-en-Laye and Fontainebleau and compels Brandenburg and Denmark to give back to Sweden the Swedish territory they had conquered.
- 1681.** Seizure of Strasburg and Casale.
- 1682.** Louis asserts the Liberties of the Gallican Church against Pope Innocent XI.
- 1683.** Death of Colbert and Queen Maria Theresa.
- January 12th, **1684.** Louis married Madame de Maintenon. Truce of Ratisbon.
- 1685.** Revocation of the Edict of Nantes.
- 1688-1697.** War of the League of Augsburg.²
- 1689.** Devastation of the Palatinate.
- 1691.** Louvois died.
- 1696.** Louis makes the Treaty of Turin with Duke Victor Amadeus of Savoy.
- 1697.** Treaty of Ryswick.
- 1698.** Marquis d'Harcourt becomes French ambassador in Spain. First Partition Treaty.
- 1700.** Second Partition Treaty.
- November 1st. Charles II of Spain dies having left all his dominions to Philip, Duke of Anjou.
- 1701.** Louis recognises the Old Pretender as King of England.
- 1702-1713.** The War of the Spanish Succession.³
- 1703-1704.** Rising of the Camisards in the Cevennes.
- 1706.** The Whigs unwisely refused Louis' proposals for peace.
- 1709.** Great distress in France owing to hunger and the bitter cold of January and February.

¹ Page 525.² Page 533.³ Page 569.

1710. Port Royal destroyed. Failure of Peace Conference at Gertruydenberg.

1711. Death of the Dauphin.

1712. Deaths of the Duchess of Burgundy (February 12th), the Duke of Burgundy (February 18th), the Duke of Brittany (March 11th). Louis, Duke of Anjou, great-grandson of Louis XIV, became Dauphin, and afterwards Louis XV.

1713. Peace of Utrecht.

1713. Pope Clement XI issued the Bull *Unigenitus*.

1714. France makes the Peace of Rastadt with Austria and the Peace of Baden with the Empire.

September 1st, **1715.** Louis died at Marly.

II. Louis and the Monarchy.

A. Centralised absolutism.

His ambition and desire for glory, his belief that he derived his authority direct from God, led Louis to strengthen the centralised, absolute, irresponsible monarchy to which he had succeeded. His policy was not original; it followed traditional lines of development and may be regarded as a continuation of the work not only of Richelieu,¹ but of St. Louis² and Philip IV.³ For the greater part of his reign his policy, which led to striking successes, was popular in France, and it is doubtful if any other form of government was possible in the existing circumstances.

B. L'Etat c'est Moi.⁴

(1) Personal government.

He declared in **1661**, "I shall be my own Prime Minister," and he advised his grandson, Philip of Spain, "Never let yourself be ruled; be ever master."

¹ Page 351.

² *Notes on European History*, Part I, page 470.

³ *Ibid.* page 478.

⁴ It is doubtful if Louis actually used these words, but they admirably express his idea of his own position.

He endeavoured personally to direct the domestic and foreign policy of France ; his ministers were his servants, and the King's approval was essential for every act ; every function of government was under his control ; the movements of his armies were directed from Versailles ; literature towards the end of his reign was largely devoted to the glorification of the King. His policy entailed very hard work ; he was one of the most laborious of monarchs and spent eight hours a day in his cabinet working at " his trade of kingship."

(2) The overthrow of opposition.

His aim was personal power and his own greatness ; he tried to secure order based upon personal authority, and ruthlessly destroyed any who in any way might check or control the government. This partly explains his attitude towards the Huguenots, the Jansenists and Pope Innocent XI. He never summoned the States-General ; deprived the Parliament of Paris of all political power and made it little more than a court of registration. The authority of the provincial Estates was greatly weakened ; from 1672, when Colbert crushed the Estates of Provence, to the Revolution " the provincial Estates have practically no history " ; the vitality of local government, both provincial and civic, was sacrificed to the central government in Paris.

(3) The Nobles.

The political power of the nobles had been broken by the Fronde. Many of the King's officials were lawyers ; Colbert was the son of a merchant of Rheims ; Louis increased the number of offices which ennobled the holder. Thus the old noble families became mere courtiers and dropped out of the royal councils, although many served in the army.

But Louis continued the old social privileges of the nobles, and these privileges, which to some extent

limited the King's power, were destined to prove one of the causes of the Revolution.

C. Le Roi Soleil.

Louis XIV dazzled his subjects, and under him royalty was regarded by the nation as "the glorious personification of the unity and power of France."¹ The military glory he gained; the splendour of Versailles; the brilliant entertainments he gave; the magnificence of his Court; the remarkable achievements of writers like Molière, Corneille, Descartes and La Fontaine; of generals like Condé and Turenne; of diplomatists like Lionne and Harcourt; the administration of Colbert and Louvain; all these made a profound impression. That impression was strengthened by Louis' dignified and courteous bearing and by the rigid Spanish etiquette he introduced at Court, which magnified the position of the monarch. Versailles became the model of other Courts, especially in Germany, and foreign princes vainly tried to copy Le Roi Soleil.

But this splendour lacked foundation; there was much boredom and little real happiness at Versailles. Bolingbroke justly said that "Louis XIV, if not the greatest King, was the best actor of majesty that ever filled a throne," and "his eye was ever on the gallery."²

III. Louis XIV and France.

Louis established orderly government, gave France a valuable code of laws, and the country prospered under Colbert's direction. But the wars of Louis, his buildings—Versailles cost about £24,000,000—the hosts of officials necessitated by his system of government, laid an intolerable burden of taxation on the country; the population was diminished by losses in war and the flight of the Huguenots, the most industrious part of the people.

After the death of Colbert the internal condition of

¹ Hassall.

² Duclaux.

the country grew rapidly worse } in 1693 Fénelon declared that " France is only a large hospital, desolate and without food " ; famine and the severe cold of the winter of 1708-1709 caused awful mortality, and Louis' last years were dark and desolate. The administration of the law became lax ; arbitrary imprisonment was common, and the Man in the Iron Mask was only the most famous of many victims ; the Intendant of Orleans said in 1688 that " the way of gathering in the taxes is too awful."

" For the sake of central uniformity [France] stifled all freedom of life and thought, contented itself with the factitious glories of reckless royalty, permitted the monarchy to swallow up the free institutions, the commerce, industry, literature of the land ; in a word, it flung away all those precious things which are the true sun of a nation's wealth."¹

IV. Louis XIV's Foreign Policy.

A. To 1678.

In the early part of his reign Louis' main object was to ensure the development of the Peace of Westphalia and the Peace of the Pyrenees. He wished to extend the authority of France to the Rhine and Pyrenees and to protect Paris by securing the line of the Scheldt. He thus followed generally the policy of Richelieu and Mazarin, although the invasion of the United Provinces in 1672 was a deviation from their plans. He wished also to strengthen the navy as a means of securing new colonies in the East and West, and making France the mistress of the Mediterranean.

This policy, which necessitated opposition to Spain and the Empire, led to alliances with Sweden, Poland, Turkey and the German princes, and thus Louis, like Richelieu, was a Catholic at home and an ally of Protestants abroad.

Louis gained a considerable measure of success in his

¹ Kitchin, *History of France*, Vol. III, page 356.

earlier years, partly because the wise administration of Colbert provided the means of carrying out his policy, partly because he was singularly fortunate in securing the assistance of Louvois in reorganising, and Condé and Turenne in leading his armies.

In 1678 Louis had reached the height of his power. The Peace of Nymwegen "is the culminating point of Louis' glory."

B. From 1678.

Up to 1678 Louis had pursued a foreign policy which may be regarded, with the exception of the attack on Holland in 1672, as a national policy. His designs now became broader. The expected early death of Charles II would give him an opportunity of securing part, if not all, of the Spanish Empire.

Louis had hopes of securing the Empire on the death of Leopold I and possibly of obtaining the election of the Dauphin as King of the Romans. Bossuet in 1685 referred to him as "ce nouveau Charlemagne." The recent acquisition of Alsace and Strasburg might well be followed by further conquests in Germany. In Italy, where the Papacy alone seemed likely to prove a formidable opponent, Louis had strong supporters in the Dukes of Modena, Mantua and Savoy.

Louis now aimed at dominating Europe, and fear of his aggressive policy led the nations to combine against him in the League of Augsburg in 1686, which became the Grand Alliance in 1689. Louis now weakened his cause by grave mistakes. The Truce of Ratisbon, 1684, gave his enemies time to consolidate their opposition; the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685 not only weakened France, but roused the strong resentment of Louis' Protestant allies; the devastation of the Palatinate in 1689 not only provoked opposition in Germany, but by enabling William of Orange to secure the throne of England greatly strengthened Louis' bitterest opponent; the recognition in 1701 of the Old Pretender as

King of England in defiance of the Treaty of Ryswick led the English, who had viewed with indifference the acceptance of the Spanish crown by Philip of Anjou, to join in the War of the Spanish Succession.

By this war Louis "not only earned the reprobation of Europe, but forfeited all claims to the gratitude of France." France was ruined by the cost of the war in men and money and by the neglect of industry and commerce it caused. The Peaces of Baden and Rastadt saved France, and she emerged from the struggle with her strength impaired, but with her territory intact.

C. Colonies.

An attempt was made to found French colonies. An East India and a West India Company were founded in 1664; a French factory was established in Siam in 1680; an attempt was made to colonise Madagascar; in Canada Fort Niagara was built in 1687 to cut off the English from the Upper Lakes; De Frontenac was appointed Governor of Canada in 1689 and ordered to attack Albany and New York; the forts of the Hudson's Bay Company were continually attacked.

But, partly owing to the pressure of European war, Louis gave only limited help to schemes of colonial extension, and these proved unsuccessful. In spite of Government support the Indian Companies never really flourished; the influence of France was destroyed in Madagascar in 1672 and in Siam in 1688; by the Peace of Utrecht in 1713 France was compelled to cede Newfoundland, Acadia and Hudson's Bay to England.

Under Louis XIV "France failed to secure, at a time when, apparently, it might easily have been done, the commanding position both in the East and the West for which she strove in vain only half a century later."¹

¹ Adams.

V. Character.

Louis said that "ambition and glory are always pardonable in a prince," and his ambition, love of splendour, strong will and pride profoundly affected his policy. But he had a high conception of duty ; he said, "We are not private persons, we owe ourselves to the public" ; he was an indefatigable worker ; he was devoted to France and sympathised with the sufferings of his people ; but the ruin of France and the sufferings of his people were due largely to his policy, of which his own greatness was the first object. He was carried away by prosperity, and in time of success lacked moderation ; but he bore adversity with fortitude and dignity.

He believed that as the representative of God he was above human law. His private life, until he came under the influence of Madame de Maintenon, was flagrantly immoral ; he showed no regard for human life ; he broke sworn contracts, and deceit and duplicity often marked his diplomacy.

He was sincerely attached to Roman Catholicism, although he did not hesitate to oppose the Pope. His persecution of the Huguenots and Jansenists was partly due to his conviction that it was his duty to exterminate heresy. Owing to Madame de Maintenon his religious convictions were strengthened, but his religious policy was ignorant, vindictive and short-sighted.

His education was poor, but he was an accomplished musician, an excellent dancer and a keen hunter.

VI. General.

Different opinions are held as to the greatness of Louis XIV. Hassall says that "he was in all his political and diplomatic relations a great King" ; Adams maintains that Louis' reign was "a reign of deceiving ambitions and profound failure."

Louis lacked originality ; he devoted far too much attention to the details of government and failed to

understand that mere drudgery, however well intentioned, does not make a great King.

His policy, successful at first, ended in failure at home and abroad. He had intended to "give France the blessing of a paternal despotism and to make her the leading power in Europe." He left her bankrupt and broken.

He "established a government which he alone was capable of maintaining";¹ but at the end of his reign the monarchy had become unpopular, and Louis' policy and extravagance were direct causes of the French Revolution.

He was spectacular rather than great. He was undoubtedly Le Roi Soleil; it is very doubtful if he really was Le Grand Monarque.

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¹ Bonnechose.

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